The Forum

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THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN NATIONALITY.

My attention, during the past year, has been drawn anew to the question, how and when the United States became a nation. Two highly conflicting views were familiar to the American mind of forty and fifty years ago: the High Federalist or Northern view, held by Webster, Story, and Curtis, according to which the United States became a nation either through the adoption and ratification of the Constitution, or, even before that, through the acts of the Revolutionary Congress and the Declaration of Independence; the other, the extreme States' Rights or Southern view of the nature of the original "compact," to adopt the phraseology of its advocates. To-day, the Southern view is essentially modified to meet the fact of attempted secession, overborne and crushed out by force of arms. The opinions of the former advocates of the rights of nullification and secession have not changed as respects the work of the Convention of 1787, or the significance of the written Constitution. But they admit that the United States are now a nation through the arbitrament of the only court known to nations from which there is no appeal.

No matter how strongly any man may have held the doctrine of secession under the Constitution as it was offered to the States and by the States ratified, he cannot, if an intelligent student of political history, to-day deny our complete nationality. Having attempted secession and failed in it, having made the appeal to arms and been defeated, his acceptance of the result is a matter of ordinary political sense; and, for one, I believe that the vast majority of the Southern people rejoice that the decision was reached in favor of an indissolu-

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ble union of indestructible States. The latter view of the origin of American nationality was presented with singular clearness and force by the Honorable J. Randolph Tucker, of Virginia, at the meeting of the American Social Science Association, at Saratoga, in 1877. "To that decree," said Mr. Tucker, "the seceding States bowed as final, as law, whether they concurred in its righteousness or not. They had submitted to the jurisdiction of the tribunal of war; they joined issue in its forum; the decision was adverse and from it there was no appeal; and they have submitted to its irreversible result." The same view is adopted by not a few of our Northern people. Dr. Albion W. Small, in his tract on "The Beginnings of American Nationality," makes the following statement: "The people of the United States simply dodged the responsibility of formulating their will upon the distinct subject of national sovereignty, until *the legislation of the sword* began in 1861." So far as relates to the failure of the Convention of 1787 to decide the question of national unity, I am disposed to agree with Dr. Small. I have always had a certain feeling that, in the great debate over the charters of our liberties and institutions, the Southerners had a little the better of it.

Not that I am willing for a moment to admit that the right of nullification or the right of secession was contained in the Constitution, or that there was not much in the arguments which Mr. Webster and Judge Story presented in confirmation of their claim, that the United States of 1789 were, according to the Constitution, a complete and self-sufficient nation. I believe the truth to be that the case was a mixed one, in which much was to be said on both sides of the question. The issue was one which, if not purposely *made* doubtful, was purposely *left* doubtful, because any attempt to force the issue at that time; to resolve the difficulties of the situation; to define the relations of the States to the General Government, away back to their source; to raise the question of coercion, should one State seek to secede from the others, would have meant nothing more or less than the immediate and complete failure of any scheme of union. Our fathers did well to dodge the question of nationality, and leave the issue to the logic of events and to the course of national experience. And if I have been disposed to hold that, in the long discussion over the text of the Constitution or the significance of the Declaration of Independence, the Southerners had somewhat the better of the argument, it is not without the deepest sympathy that I read every successive page which tells the story of an increasing

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sense of nationality; of the work of a noble judiciary continually strengthening the bonds of union; of events, whether seemingly fortunate or unfortunate at the time, drawing our people ever closer and closer together. If the letter of the law was the more on the side of the extreme States' Rights doctrine, it was "the letter which killeth." The spirit that maketh alive was from the first only and wholly with those who stood for the unity and the indestructibility of the American Union. Yet, while not able to agree with those who hold that a complete nationality was established by the Constitution or by the precedent acts of the insurrectionary States, I must, also, differ from those who hold that it was the legislation of the sword or the arbitrament of war which made the United States a nation. To my mind it was the course of events during the first four decades of our national history, the fortunes of our people, the action of political parties, as well as mere living together through an entire human generation, which made us a nation.

Prior to the war of the Revolution, the sentiment of American nationality can scarcely be said to have existed. The history of the colonies down to the time of resistance to imperial taxation, shows hardly a trace of such a sentiment. Pennsylvanians were content to be Pennsylvanians; New Yorkers to be New Yorkers; Virginians to be Virginians; Carolinians to be Carolinians. Even without any real and strong drawing toward a common form of government, we might fairly have looked in the history of this time for at least some prophecy of Americanism. It might have been the dream of poets, the theme of orators, or at least the toast of students, like German unity from 1848 to 1866. But we do not find so much as this. Neither for practical nor for sentimental reasons did the union of the American colonies appear a thing particularly to be desired. It is not necessary to take time to refer to the differences of history and political organization, the differences of race, of speech, and of religious belief, the differences in social ideas and customs and modes of living, which tended to keep the colonies apart. The imminence of hostilities with the mother country sufficed to draw the colonies together for the purposes of a common resistance; and acts were done, and decrees and declarations were made, and pledges and promises were given, in 1774 and 1775, which looked toward a permanent union of the insurgent colonies, and which doubtless had a certain effect in impressing the public mind favorably to that result. The momentous Declaration of Independence, in the mid-year of

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1776, must have had a still greater influence in convincing the public mind that, in the words of Benjamin Franklin, "All must hang together, or they would hang separately"; and the fortunes of war, sometimes joyful but more commonly painful, during the five following years, undoubtedly produced not a little of true American sentiment. Common experience of that sort, whether of victory or defeat, must, it would seem, have a great power to generate instincts and feelings of common interests and a common destiny. Indeed, had there been no intermediate stage before the formation of the Constitution, during which the feebleness of the ties formed in war for the purposes of common resistance to the mother country were painfully demonstrated, we should naturally have assumed that the sense of American nationality was developed during the Revolution to some very high point. Had the rebellious States emerged victorious from their struggle under the Constitution, no historical writer would probably ever have thought to challenge that belief. But the States in fact emerged from the war, not under the Constitution, but under the Articles of Confederation framed in 1781; and the painful and humiliating experiences of the following years show beyond doubt that the force which brought the colonies, and later the States, together for the purposes of war had, by the close of the war, become almost completely exhausted of its efficiency. One looking back upon the situation may even think he sees signs of reaction toward separate Statehood.

The experiences of the States under the Articles of Confederation constitute a very painful chapter. It seems impossible to realize that men who thus trifled with obligations solemnly assumed, who disregarded the requisitions of Congress and defied its authority, who let the Government fall away into weakness and contempt, were the heroic ancestors whose exertions and sacrifices during the Revolution have been so much applauded. The degree of delinquency differed much; but, from Massachusetts to Georgia, we find, during all that weary time, few tokens of national spirit. It will not be necessary to recite the story of the various efforts made between 1783 and 1787 to secure a larger grant of powers to the government of the Confederation, or of the last effort which culminated in the Philadelphia Convention of the latter year. The complete and final failure of the revenue system of 1783 and of the Commercial Convention at Annapolis in 1786, together with the outbreak of domestic violence in Massachusetts, commonly known as Shay's Rebel-

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lion, had caused it to be felt, upon all sides, that the meeting at Philadelphia was the last chance which was to be given for a common government of the entire thirteen States. Had that Convention dissolved without recommending a Constitution to the people, or had the Constitution not been adopted by the people, upon its submission, there does not now appear to have been any way out of the result of two, or perhaps three, confederacies established along the Atlantic coast. How narrow was the escape from a complete collapse of the Constitutional Convention; with what painful sacrifices of political principle or of sectional interest, each involving the loss of some adherent within the Convention, and of many adherents among the people, the Compromises of the Constitution were at last effected; how many elements of ultimate popular weakness were introduced into the text of the Constitution in order to achieve an immediate parliamentary success; how large a portion of the original members of the Convention abandoned the task in alienation or disgust, to denounce the outcome before the people, it is not necessary to tell here. Nor need we on this occasion hold our breath in suspense while contemplating the protracted struggle over ratification, as great States, like New York, Virginia, and Massachusetts, ratified the Constitution by the narrowest of majorities, and victory was again and again snatched from the very jaws of defeat.

It was, I believe, this year and a half of discussion, both within and without the Convention, which really generated the first serious and strong sentiment of American nationality. Not in the measures of resistance to the mother country, not in the heat of revolution, but in the great debate of 1787 and 1788, did the feelings which in their continued growth were to make union possible, first come into existence. Down to that period it had been only a few prophetic souls, big with patriotic impulses and lofty enough to look down the ages and see the puissant nation which was yet to arise out of confusion and discord, who had borne the burden of American nationality for the whole body of their countrymen. The situation was there, inviting to union; there was much in the common sacrifices and efforts of the insurgent colonies and States to afford the subject of impassioned argument and patriotic entreaty; even selfish interests and material considerations powerfully urged the cause of union; but the heart of the people remained cold and the mind of the people dark. It was the great "campaign of education," to use the phrase of modern politics, which was carried on by Washington, Franklin,

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Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and their associates, which first opened the eyes of our people to the benefits of a real and vital union and warmed their hearts with something of a truly national feeling; which first overcame the pride of Statehood and the jealousies and animosities that had separated classes and sections.

Whether Webster and Story and Curtis on the one hand, or George Tucker, Calhoun, and Hayne on the other, were nearer the truth in their views of the relations of State and Nation under the Constitution as it was submitted to the people and by the people ratified, is to-day of purely historical interest. If we concede all that Mr. Webster and Judge Story claimed, it is still, from the point of view of the political student, true that the Constitution of 1787 merely allowed the experiment of nationality to be tried. It was yet to be made to appear whether the sentiments and feelings, the views and purposes, which alone could make the Constitution a practical working government, capable of protecting itself, of enforcing its authority and of perpetuating its existence, could be generated in the minds of a majority of the American people, a majority large enough to afford a fair margin for political purposes. Conceding the full validity of the High Federalist view of the Constitution as it was written, it was still possible that an adverse course of events, a hostile interpretation of the provisions of the organic law, an administration continually disparaging the powers of the United States and restraining the scope of their operation, might, within the next one or two generations, reduce the government so formed and inaugurated to much less than the proportions and dimensions of the government of a nation; might make it, in effect, no more than a league of States, under a federal compact.

I am, indeed, not fully able to subscribe to the statement of Mr. Cabot Lodge, that there was in 1789 "not a man in the country from Washington and Hamilton on the one side, to George Clinton and George Mason on the other," who did not regard the new system as one "from which each and every State had the right peaceably to withdraw, a right which was very likely to be exercised." I am the rather disposed to believe that the question, What should be done in the event of efforts on the part of any State, or States, to break up the new form of government? was, consciously or instinctively, avoided by the advocates of union, alike in the Constitutional Convention, and before the people. Like that other famous question, "What would happen if Mr. Speaker should name names?" it could

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only be answered, "Heaven alone knows." I repeat, the Constitution, as adopted, was generally contemplated, not as establishing a nation but only as setting up that which might, if the main course of events tended in that direction, in time become a nation. If not, what then? That question, our fathers, amid mingled hopes and fears, left unanswered. They were not prepared to discuss it. They hardly dared formulate it in their own minds. The Constitution did indeed declare that the union established by it should be perpetuated; but so had the union under the Articles of Confederation in 1781 been declared perpetual.

Narrow as the majority was by which the Constitution was framed in the Convention and ratified by the people, it was yet, even so, not a legitimate majority in favor of nationality, for nationality's sake. Leaving out the great leaders of thought to whom reference has been made, and leaving out, also, thousands and tens of thousands whose patriotic fervor would admit no question, the Federalists very generally favored union from interests as selfish and particular as those which influenced the rice and indigo planters of Georgia and South Carolina to declare that they would not accede to the Constitution if taxes on exports were in any form to be admitted. It was because they constituted the commercial, capitalist class, looking forward to the payment of the debts of the Revolution, and desiring treaties with England, France and Spain, which should favor our trade, especially with the West Indies, that a large part of the supporters of the Constitution in Boston, New York, and Charleston voted for ratification.

It may be said that self-interest is a legitimate ground of political attachment; and that we are not nicely to distinguish between an allegiance which is promoted by such a consideration, and an allegiance which is due to finer sentiments. This is perfectly true. Self-interest is, indeed, the best of all soils out of which patriotism may grow. Still patriotism is not the soil but the plant in which the properties of the dank and unsavory earth have been transmuted, by the wonderful alchemy of nature, into stalk and leaf and flower and fruit. A sense of common interests and of mutual helpfulness was yet to produce in the United States the fairest flowers and richest fruits of patriotic feeling, patriotic endeavor, patriotic self-sacrifice; but, at the beginning, it was not the instincts of nationality but the calculations of prudence which secured the ratification of the Constitution, even by so narrow a margin. That instrument had been

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framed largely in obedience to the demands—let us say, the proper and rightful demands—of the commercial and capitalist classes. On the part of many of these there was, doubtless, a real sentiment of nationality. But on the part of more, it "was business," to use the phrase of to-day; and when, a little later, the powers of the United States Government were exerted to cripple commerce, as by the Embargo and Non-intercourse Acts, the sentiment of nationality in New England showed that it was a very tender young plant, indeed.

If, then, I may be permitted to go forward from the proposition that the Constitution of 1787 merely permitted the experiment of American union to be tried, within lines laid down by that instrument, I will ask, When was it that the United States became a nation? Was that definitive result (definitive, of course, subject to catastrophes which might destroy any nation, however homogeneous, however harmonious, however long its life) postponed till the conclusion of the great War of Secession, as the writers cited would hold; or did this take place in some earlier period, and, if so, what are the forces which may be regarded as having chiefly contributed to that end? Chief among these I believe—largely as the result of recent thinking on the subject—was the personality of George Washington. Conscious of a distinctly grudging disposition in respect to the influence of great men upon the political development of peoples, perhaps even subject to a depreciatory spirit respecting their very greatness itself, I yet find myself more and more turning to regard the first President of the United States as in no inconsiderable degree the Maker of the Nation. In the experiment authorized and undertaken by the Constitution of 1787–89, not only his transcendent authority among his countrymen, derived from his personal character and from his services in achieving independence, but his lofty bearing in office, his impartiality as between antagonistic sections and competing interests, his prescience respecting the evils of foreign alliances and affiliations, and his fervent Americanism were far more to the future of the country than the fact that the Philadelphia Convention had used the phrase, "We, the people of the United States," in the preamble of the Constitution. He was to the plastic elements of the country, in the outset to that great political experiment, more than all other statesmen put together. In securing comparative peace between the angry factions of that day; in holding the nation, as no other man could have done, out of the giant struggle between France and England; in impressing respect for law, for public credit, and for

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the forms of the new Government; and in silently, but powerfully and grandly, teaching the lesson of devotion to union, he not only gave time for a fortunate trial of the Constitution, but he contributed a positive force which we cannot overestimate toward its orderly and energetic operation during the first critical years.

Of the direct contributions made by President Washington to the development of American nationality, the greatest must be admitted to have been his judicial appointments. Jefferson, indeed, having regard to the remarkable impartiality with which Washington bore himself as between factions and political leaders, once said that Washington was no Federalist; but his choice of judges for the Supreme Court shows beyond question where he stood on the great issue, whether or not the United States should be permitted to become a real and virtual nation. So powerfully did Washington, through his judicial appointments, impress upon that court the stamp of American nationality, that Jefferson, so late as 1810, complained to Gallatin, that this branch of the Government had braved the spirit and will of the nation for ten years after the nation had manifested its will by a complete reform in every branch depending on itself. By "braving the will of the nation," it is needless to say, Mr. Jefferson meant maintaining the authority and integrity of the Government of the United States. Thus, from 1789 to 1810, the tremendous powers entrusted by the Constitution to the national judiciary were, essentially through Washington's own appointments, exerted steadily and unremittingly on the side of an indestructible union.

The Third Article was, in truth, "the sleeping lion" of the Constitution: not because its phraseology was obscure, but because no one in the Convention had been able to lift himself high enough to see the full scope of that terrific power which should decide alike laws of Congress and the acts of State legislatures to be contrary to the Constitution; which should sit in judgment on measures and on men; which should become the supreme arbiter between State and nation; which should in the result determine what kind of a government this was to be. Given the provisions relating to the judiciary, it was inevitable that a nation should in time result, provided, only, that the Supreme Court should be permitted to exercise the jurisdiction accorded it, and that a majority of the judges should, through a considerable term of years, be men holding strong and resolute opinions in favor of the authority of the General Government. The latter condition was supplied by the judicial appointments of Wash-

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ington, followed by President Adams's supremely fortunate selection of Marshall as Chief Justice. The former condition was far the more critical and doubtful of fulfilment. Scarcely had the courts of the United States settled fully to their work when the reasonableness and rightfulness of their jurisdiction were challenged, as the result of the Chisholm case; and the 11th Amendment to the Constitution—the first real amendment of that instrument, the ten preceding amendments having been virtually a condition of ratification—provided that the judicial power of the United States should not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state. Had this amendment, as was well to be feared, been the first of a series of inroads upon the jurisdiction of the national courts, the development of American nationality would have sustained a severe check. But, in fact, the 11th Amendment in itself constituted no serious breach of the judicial power; and it was destined to remain alone. Even in the war upon the judiciary, so furiously waged by the angry Republicans in Jefferson's first term, no responsible statesman dared propose to reconstitute the Supreme Court, or take away any part of its remaining jurisdiction.

But the most important reinforcement which the judicial power received during the course of our early history came through the ill-considered attack made upon it in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798–99; the one set drawn by Madison, the other by Jefferson. These resolutions, inspired by Republican rage at the foolish and mischievous Alien and Sedition Laws of Adams's administration, denied that there was any "common judge," as between State and Nation; and in effect declared that, in the event of the Supreme Court joining with Congress in usurpation of powers not conferred by the Constitution, each State retained for itself the right to judge both as to the fact of an infraction of the Constitution, and as to the mode and measure of redress. It was impossible that the opponents of national authority should have taken a more injudicious occasion for making an issue regarding the judicial power. The offensive measures at which these resolutions were aimed were, by their very terms, to expire in less than three years, and, in fact, before the close of that period, a Congress and a President had been elected intensely hostile to the principles of this legislation. It was against abuses so transient, that Madison and Jefferson would

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have invoked the evil spirit of nullification, which would make stable government and a permanent union impossible.

The resolutions of Virginia were sent by the legislature which had passed them to the other States, giving rise to a great debate, which was second only to that which preceded the ratification of the Constitution in its educational influence upon the mind of the country and in promoting the formation of clear and correct views regarding the relations of State and Nation. In spite of the ability and address with which Madison sought to explain and to justify the Virginia Resolutions, the battle went heavily against the doctrines of nullification. That heresy was, indeed, not stamped out at the time. It was even yet to reappear in our politics, but the discussion over the resolutions of 1798–99 destroyed its prestige and greatly crippled its malignant power. When, long years after, it was again asserted, during the fierce contest over the tariff of 1832, it found a people who had been educated to regard the Supreme Court of the United States as the "common judge" between Nation and State. Meanwhile, a succession of great judges had pronounced that splendid series of judicial decisions—masterly, comprehensive, and overwhelming,—which set American nationality upon an impregnable basis.

The two constitutional principles, the establishment of which, beyond the power of men to subvert or uproot them, we owe chiefly to Judge Marshall, are: First, that, while the General Government is limited as to its objects, it is yet as to those objects supreme. Second, that in enforcing its constitutional authority, in doing its constitutional work, in reaching its constitutional ends, the Government is not confined to narrow courses; is not shut up to any single line of action; is not limited in its agencies or methods. It has a full, fair, and free choice among all the means, not expressly forbidden in the Constitution, which are reasonable, expedient, and politic means to those ends; a choice as full, fair, and free as if the objects of the Government were not limited.

In 1801 the Federalist party fell finally from power and the Republicans assumed the administration of the country. The bitterest partisan who on that fourth of March mourned the defeat of Adams and the election of Jefferson, could he have foreseen the results of this great political revolution, would have rejoiced in his inmost soul, and have triumphed over his enemies with the stern joy of a Hebrew prophet. Had the Federalist succession been continued, the Republican party must have remained the grudging and continu-

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ally encroaching enemy of national authority; and the contest would have gone on with inreasing bitterness over the rights and powers of the General Government. But the election of Jefferson brought about the downfall of the "Old Republicanism" far more completely than could have been effected by any success of the Federalists however overwhelming or however long continued. The phenomenon is a familiar one; and such changes are sometimes ludicrous in their precipitancy. Notwithstanding the repeal of excise duties and the general bankruptcy law, notwithstanding the destruction of the new system of circuit courts, notwithstanding the persecution of the judiciary under the cover of impeachment, the accession of the Republicans to power under Jefferson definitively committed that half of the nation which had thus far been grudging, factious, and reactionary, to the cause of a true nationality. In office, the vast majority of that party drifted into the exercise and enjoyment of political power with hardly a struggle or a scruple of conscience, leaving only an insignificant fragment, under John Randolph of Roanoke, to wave the flag of the "Old Republicanism."

Even more ludicrous was the relapse of no small part of the Federalists, especially in New England, as they experienced the bitterness of defeat and as they found the national control of commerce, for which they had mainly been eager to set up the Government, exercised, we may well say, wantonly and unjustifiably but still constitutionally, to the injury of their trade and navigation, through the embargo and non-intercourse acts. Perhaps, like Jonah, they "did well to be angry" at seeing their vessels rotting at the wharves and the grass growing in the streets of their chief commercial towns. But when they carried their rightful opposition and indignation to the point of denouncing the exercise of constitutional power by Congress and the Executive, threatening nullification and secession, and drinking treasonable toasts, they furnished a spectacle at which gods and men might laugh. And now it is curious to see the rapidly diminishing band of irreconcilable Federalists joining hands with Randolph's little group of "Quids" and extolling the "Old Republicanism" of 1798–99, while the great majority of both the former Federalists and the former Republicans, in the second term of Jefferson and in the first term of Madison, gradually draw together into a largely predominant party, holding the administration of the country by a sure tenure on the ground of the reasonable and moderate exercise of all the powers which could fairly be claimed to have been

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given by the Constitution to the General Government,[1] putting an end finally to the great debate which had so long gone forward regarding the rights and powers of the United States. The unseemly attitude and acts of the irreconcilable Federalists, both before and during the war with England, are not to be regretted, except only by those of their immediate descendants who have personal reasons for being sensitive on the subject. They did not do any harm to the Government; and they constituted an excellent exercise for the education of the Republicans in constitutional and patriotic views. The men who had drawn the Resolutions of 1798–99 learned how hateful is the sound of threatened nullification and secession by hearing it from the lips of their opponents. To the men of Virginia and Carolina, defiance of national authority seemed only wicked and detestable when it came from the Northeast.

By far the greatest single fact of the first decade of the century, as bearing upon the development of American nationality, was the acquisition of Louisiana. In 1803, Mr. Jefferson, tempted beyond his self-control by the brilliant offers of Napoleon, bought from France the immense empire West of the Mississippi. Not only could no authority be found in the Constitution, through any exercise of strict construction, for such an acquisition of territory without the consent of the States which were parties to the original compact; but the palpable, necessary consequences of this acquisition, through its effect upon the membership of the Union and upon the balance of power within the Government, were simply overwhelming. In the Convention of 1787, grave apprehensions had been expressed lest the States to be formed from the territory west of the Alleghanies should, in time, weigh down the Atlantic States; and it was even proposed to set a limit to the total number of members who should ever be admitted to Congress from that region. Yet here was a new territory of a million square miles which Mr. Jefferson had undertaken to say should become a part of the United States forever; and its inhabitants "incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States." If we look merely to the practical consequences of this treaty, as affecting the future membership of the Union, as threatening the rights and powers of the origi-

[1] For example the prompt and unhesitating action of Madison in the Olmstead case.

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nal parties to the "federal compact," and as bearing upon the balance of power within the Government, we must admit this measure to have been of an absolutely revolutionary character. This, too, was a revolution in the direction of centralization and the impairment of the powers of the original States, brought about by the very party which had undertaken to maintain the principle of strict construction and to provide the needed opposition to inevitable tendencies toward encroachment on the part of the General Government.

In the last clause is found the chief significance of that momentous transaction. It was the States-Rights party which had done this imperial act. It was the very founder of that party who had put his hand to what he admitted was an extra-constitutional, if not unconstitutional, measure (and, by the States-Rights doctrine, an extra-constitutional must needs be an unconstitutional measure), for the purpose of aggrandizing the nation beyond what had been conceived by the most sanguine. There had been two parties to the interpretation of the Constitution. It was the party which had maintained the idea of a federal compact, of a strict construction of the powers given to the General Government, of holding the revenues and the agencies of that government down to its absolutely necessary uses, that now, under the immense temptation offered by Bonaparte, surrendered its principles; had committed an imperial act of far-reaching and permanent consequences; and overwhelmed the original States by the certain future access of an indefinite number of new members.

All this time there had been steadily operating a force to which I have not yet adverted, but which in any view of the development of American nationality, must be admitted to have been of immense efficiency in the making of the nation. This force was found in the growth of great communities upon the territory within the original domain of the United States beyond the Alleghanies. The influence of this cause upon the destinies of the Republic, and even upon the nature of the Government itself, it would be difficult to overestimate. Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, South Carolina, had existed as separate communities before confederation had been practically accomplished. Each had its own laws and social institutions, its consciousness of Statehood, its definite character, its history. When these communities entered into the Union it was, even for those most strongly Federalist in feeling, inevitably with large reservations of pride, interest, and affection, with some grudging as to every grant of power to

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the common government, and with much of hesitation, jealousy and suspicion regarding the motives and probable actions of its allies. How different the case in respect to the States which were to be introduced into the giant league from the territory beyond the Alleghanies! What is to be said of them is not wholly true of Kentucky, because of the close relations of that colony with Virginia—as intimated in the Resolutions of 1798–99; but in general it may be asserted that they came into the Union with vastly less of reservation both as to purposes and as to feelings, than was possible to any of the original members. They had been governed, while in a territorial condition, directly by the United States, with such concessions to local self-government as might seem to Congress for their good. They had learned to look to the General Government for protection against the Indians, for the means of opening their rivers to navigation, for the survey of their lands, for the endowment of their schools. Few were the doubts and small were the reservations with which the hardy pioneers rendered their allegiance, after the great question of the navigation of the Mississippi had been settled in their favor. Here no pride of Statehood diminished the affection and devotion of the citizen. Constitutional scruples were at a discount with these rude, strong, brave men; and lawyer-like distinctions over the divisions of sovereignty troubled them little. They wanted a government and a strong government; and in the continually growing power of the Republic they found the competent object of their civic trust and pride and love.

But, after all the progress in the direction of nationality which has been recited, the war of 1812 was still needed to perfect the union of the States. For more than twenty years the American people had lived together under a common name; accustomed to the signs and symbols of sovereignty, a common flag, a common money; learning ever more and more perfectly the lesson of obedience, and acquiring more and more of the true spirit of respect and loyalty. Merely in such living together, provided only the experiences of a people are on the whole more sweet than bitter, there is much virtue to create the sentiments and instincts of nationality. By far the larger part of all who had taken part in the adoption of the Constitution had passed away prior to 1812; and a still larger part of the existing population had been born under the Union, or had come to the age of political responsibility since the organization of the Government. To all these it seemed perfectly natural and a matter of

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course that there should be a United States of America, as it could not have appeared to any, even to the most patriotic, in the days of the Revolution and the Confederation. But to all these forces making for nationality, there was now to be added the experience of a great war against a common enemy.

Discreditable to our arms, and even in many points ludicrous, as were the military operations of the first year and a half, while we were engaged in not conquering Canada, the second war with England must yet be looked upon, in any study of the development of American nationality, as a force of the first order. Had it been a Federalist administration which sought to carry on such a war, the results could hardly have failed to prove prejudicial to the authority and influence of the General Government. The saving fact was that it was the Republican party, the original guardian and sole trustee of the constitutional tradition of strict construction and limited powers, which had undertaken to avenge the accumulated wrongs we had so long suffered from the almost inconceivable arrogance of England. In such a situation, with the irreconcilable Federalists driven into the attitude of vehement criticism and even of active opposition, the nation made ground rapidly in the direction of authority and efficiency. No government can carry on a war without feeling strongly the impulse to aggrandize its own powers and to put its opponents and its critics down with a strong hand. And more still, and far more, was to come, as the fiscal exigencies of the Government drove a Republican administration into every one of the financial measures which it had denounced as monstrous violations of the Constitution and of the reserved rights of the people, when they were first proposed by Hamilton and carried out under Washington. It was a Republican administration which passed the first distinctly protective tariff, imposed excise duties, enacted a direct tax, rolled up an enormous public debt, created a sinking fund, and founded a national bank. Who then was left to protest that the United States should not become a nation?

FRANCIS A. WALKER.

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THE FREE-SILVER ARGUMENT.

No one in a magazine article can treat conclusively the question of silver. So much doubt exists as to the basic facts and so many misrepresentations have been made, resulting in a cloud of dust thrown over the whole subject, that one to convince must write in extended form, protecting one's self with undisputed authorities and statistics at each step, with the common sense of the American people as his shield of safety from deluded writers and false logicians. And yet a single lesson may be presented in the ordinary length of a magazine article that will be conclusive.

When our forefathers, whose memories are cherished and to whom we properly accord great wisdom, established this Government, they adopted a financial system that was believed by them to be founded on correct and scientific principles. What was it? It was bimetallism. But in what form did they establish bimetallism, and what with them did bimetallism mean?

1. It meant the mints' coining all the silver and gold that came, free of charge, into money—primary money—both to be legal tender in the payment of any and all debts.[1]

2. The ratio was fixed between the two metals at 15 to 1; that is to say, the pure silver in the silver dollar was to be fifteen times the weight of the gold in the gold dollar. Or, to reverse the proposition, the gold in the gold dollar was to be one-fifteenth the weight of the silver in the silver dollar.

Thus, the mints were to be thrown open to the coinage into money of all the silver and gold that might apply, and the Republic was to rely on these two metals exclusively for its primary money.

Why two metals? One—silver—would answer the purposes of the people—of the many; would become the medium of exchange of the middle and lower classes, and circulate to the pores of civilization. The other—gold—would be the money of the rich and would

[1] See act of 1792, pages 1, 2, 3, and 4, "Coinage Laws of the United States 1792 to 1894, with an Appendix of Statistics relating to Coin and Currency—fourth edition, revised and corrected to August 1, 1894."

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be used in the larger transactions of business. If to either, to which of the two metals did our forefathers attach the greater importance?

To silver. This was to be a government of the people, with its organic laws, its financial policy, and its statute laws intended to promote the interest of the many, the poorer people. The study of history showed that the rich would take care of themselves, and that the selfishly rich were aggressive and were ever seeking to promote class-legislation intended further to enrich themselves. It was from this class-legislation that favored the few that our forefathers declared their independence, and in establishing the principles of republicanism they drafted a financial policy with other laws that were intended to counteract the influences of the selfish few and to be in the interest of the many. They, therefore, of the two metals, favored silver, the people's money.

How did they favor it? They made it the *unit*—the thing in which gold was to be valued. There were to be no two yard-sticks in the money they adopted. Gold was to be valued in silver. The gold coins were to be of the value of so many silver *units*. The unlimited demand for both metals by opening the mints to all that came would tend to hold the commercial parity of the two metals at the ratio fixed for their coinage; but, if it did not, then the ratio would be changed and the change would be made in the gold coins. The silver coins were not to be recoined or changed. Silver—the people's money—would be treated as sacred. The *unit* would be undisturbed. Any fluctuation or disturbance in commerce by reason of a change in ratio was to be borne by the rich—never by the poor. This was the intention of those who framed our republican government and its financial laws.

To call in all the silver coins to recoin them would be a serious interference with the business of the people. To recoin the gold coins would not to any great extent disturb the middle and lower classes who seldom handle them. Many of the very poor people seldom see a gold coin. There having been at all times an average of about one hundred silver coins in circulation to one gold coin, the cost would be proportionately about one hundred times as much to recoin the silver coins as to recoin the gold coins. And the time consumed in recoining the silver would be proportionately a greater disturbance to business than to recoin the gold. Thus there was wisdom as well as a love of principle in what our forefathers did.

The unit of value, therefore, was made from silver, and when

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European influences had at a later period (1834) disturbed the commercial parity of the two metals at 15 to 1, our Government changed the ratio to 16 to 1. They changed the gold dollar from one-fifteenth the weight of a silver dollar to one-sixteenth the weight of a silver dollar. The eagles, or ten-dollar gold coins, were reduced from 270 grains each to 258 grains. Twelve grains were taken out of each piece, and other gold coins were reduced in size proportionately. The weights of the silver coins, however, were not disturbed. The quantity of pure silver in the silver dollar, the unit of value, remained the same from 1792 till 1873. The gold coins were changed to *be of the value of* so many silver *units*.

Thus, of the two metals, silver was the favored metal. It was to control gold. The people's money was to control the rich man's money. This was republicanism. This was as it should be. The mints were open to the free and unlimited coinage of both metals, and with the two at a commercial parity, either answered for use as money. The two combined became the measure of values for all other property. Gold was measured in silver; and property measured its value in the money quantity of gold and silver. This was bimetallism. Under this bimetallism there were coined at our mints from 1792 to 1840, $28,312,435 in gold coins, and $55,104,917.40 in silver coins—nearly twice as much silver as gold.[1]

The foregoing are basic facts and principles, and nothing has been told or dealt with that is not admitted, except that the unit was made from silver. This is now seriously denied, and partisan gold-standard editors and other writers are making a concerted assault on this proposition. They seek to break it down—a vain effort that will recoil on them.

The policy of this Government as adopted in 1790–92 was formulated chiefly during the progress of the Continental Congress. The substance of the discussion that led up to the fixing of the unit may be found in the state papers of that period that have been reprinted in the report of the international monetary conference of 1878, and consist of the following documents:

1. "Mr. Jefferson's Notes on the Establishment of a Money Unit and of a Coinage for the United States."
2. "Report of a Grand Committee on the Money Unit."
3. "The Coinage System Proposed to Congress April 8, 1786, by Samuel Osgood and Walter Livingston, who Constituted the Board of Treasury."
4. "The Resolutions on Coinage of August 8, 1786."

[1] See page 95 of Coinage Laws already referred to.

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5. "Report of Alexander Hamilton on the Establishment of a Mint."
6. "Miscellaneous Documents."

From these it will be seen that Mr. Jefferson on page 438 advises the following coins:

"1. A golden piece equal in value to $10.
"2. The unit or dollar itself of silver.
"3. The tenth of a dollar of silver also.
"4. The hundredth of a dollar of copper."

The above is his exact language. Further on Mr. Jefferson says:

"The unit or dollar is a known coin and the most familiar of all to the mind of the people. It is already adopted from South to North, has identified our currency, and therefore happily offers itself as a unit already introduced. Our public debt, our requisitions and their apportionments have given it actual and long possession of the place of unit. The course of our commerce, too, will bring us more of this than any other foreign coin, and therefore renders it more worthy of attention." . . . "If we determine that a dollar shall be our unit we must then say with precision what a dollar is."

And then again he says:

"The quantity of fine silver which shall constitute the unit being settled, and the proportion of the value of gold to that of silver, a table should be formed from the assay before suggested, classing the several foreign coins according to their fineness." (Page 449.)

And again on page 443 he recommends that a committee be appointed:

"To prepare an ordinance for establishing the unit of money within these States; for subdividing it and for striking coins of gold, silver, and copper on the following principles:

"That the money unit of these States shall be equal in value to the Spanish milled dollar, containing so much fine silver as the assay before directed shall show to be contained on an average in dollars of the several dates circulating with us.

"That this unit shall be divided into tenths and hundredths."

In the report of the grand committee on the money unit that fixed the silver dollar as the unit we find the following:

"The quantity of pure silver being fixed that is to be in the unit or dollar and the relation between silver and gold being fixed, all the other weights must follow (p. 447). . . . On the 8th of April, 1786, the Board of Treasury directed to the President of Congress their report on certain principles for establishing a mint, accompanied by a letter to the President of Congress. The report was in triplicate and contained, as will be seen below, three distinct schemes, each of which was set forth in the report with great particularity (p. 449)."

Each of these reports proposed a silver dollar as the unit.

The opposite view of the question was presented by Alexander

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Hamilton, and his report is in the book referred to and now before me with the other documents above referred to. He says:

"But, if the dollar should, notwithstanding, be supposed to have the best title to being considered as the present *unit* in the coins, it would remain to determine what kind of a dollar ought to be understood; or, in other words, what precise quantity of fine silver (p. 456). . . . The next inquiry toward a right determination of what ought to be the future money *unit* of the United States turns upon these questions: Whether it ought to be peculiarly attached to either of the metals, in preference to the other or not; and if to either, to which of them (p. 458)."

On page 479 Mr. Hamilton recapitulates and advises as follows:

"One gold piece equal in weight and value to ten *units* or dollars.

"One gold piece equal to a tenth part of the former and which shall be a *unit* or dollar.

"One silver piece which shall also be a *unit* or dollar.

"One silver piece which shall be in weight and value a tenth part of the silver *unit* or dollar."

Mr. Jefferson at one time came very near yielding to the arguments of Mr. Hamilton, but the whole matter went into the American Congress at its second session, and out of the recommendation and discussions that had been had, the result was the enactment of the law of 1792, and section 9 of that act is the one that settled this question. It is as follows:

"And be it further enacted, That there shall be from time to time struck and coined at the said mint, coins of gold, silver, and copper of the following denominations, values, and descriptions, viz:

"Eagles—Each to be of the value of ten dollars or *units*, and to contain 247½ grains of pure or 270 grains of standard gold.

"Half Eagles—Each to be of the value of five dollars and to contain 123¾ grains of pure or 135 grains of standard gold.

"Quarter Eagles—Each to be of the value of $2.50 and to contain sixty-one and seven-eighths grains of pure or sixty-seven and four-eighths grains of standard gold.

"Dollars or Units—Each to be of the value of a Spanish milled dollar as the same is now current and to contain 371$\frac{4}{16}$ grains, of pure or 416 grains of standard silver.

"Half Dollars—Each to be of half the value of the dollar or unit and to contain 185$\frac{12}{16}$ grains of pure or 208 grains of standard silver.

"Quarter Dollars—Each to be of one fourth the value of the dollar or unit and to contain ninety-two and thirteen-sixteenths grains of pure or 104 grains of standard silver."

The section closes by fixing the size of the minor coins.

It will thus be seen that the unit was settled on silver and remained the law until 1873, when it was changed to read as follows:

"That the gold coins of the United States shall be a one dollar piece, which, at the standard weight of 25$\frac{8}{10}$ grains shall be the unit of value."

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The mints were then closed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and a fierce and hostile attitude has been assumed toward it since that time. Thus, it will be seen that in fixing the *unit* originally, the advice of Hamilton was rejected and that of Jefferson was adopted, and while that was the law it was as impossible for the silver in a silver dollar to be worth less than a dollar as a bushel of wheat to be less than a bushel. It will be observed that Hamilton's suggestion of two units, a gold unit and a silver unit, was not adopted, and Jefferson's position was adopted—of a unit fixed on silver only. Jefferson's plan contemplated a change in the commercial ratio of the metal in the two coins with the intention of changing the size of the gold coins if a change of ratio should occur; and this change did occur twice afterward, and each time the change was made in the gold coins.

While the old law was in existence—1792 to 1873—the mints were open to the free and unlimited coinage of both metals; but with the act of 1873 abolishing the silver *unit* and substituting the gold *unit*, the mints were closed to silver and left open to gold alone.

The writers who combat the silver *unit* proposition, advance no authorities and try to make a play on the words used in the act of 1792. They say "a gold unit is implied," when the fact is Hamilton advised a gold *unit* and also a silver *unit*, and his words as to a gold *unit* were stricken out in the act of 1792. They again say that "*unit*" meant nothing, except a phrase to indicate the dollar of account. This is in conflict with expressions used by the founders of the Government, and is in conflict also with the science of money when adopting property for money. The exchangeable value of the substance residing in the *unit* with other property, fixes the value of other property as expressed in terms of these *units* or *dollars*.

Standing upon this solid foundation erected by Jefferson and others, many things become clear to us that were before obscure. It is the one lesson that can be taught in a magazine article that will stand against all the attacks that can be made upon it. No man who speaks truthfully can say aught against it, and no theorist will find himself in favor with the common sense of the American people who advances views intended to shake it. It would be amusing, were it not fraught with peril to the country, to see the confusion into which the other side are thrown and the illogical positions taken to sustain their views. Here is one of them:

"Silver never was the *unit*, as was claimed for it, and one of the best evi-

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dences of it is that so little importance was attached to it that only 8,000,000 of these silver dollars were coined prior to 1873."

Show the man that wrote this the act of 1873, making gold the *unit*, and ask him: "If the number coined is any evidence of the law fixing the unit, how many gold dollars have been coined since 1873?" If he is honest, he will answer: "Less than half a million dollars in one dollar gold pieces have been coined since 1873; those have been found impracticable; they have gone out of circulation, and by an act of September 26, 1890, their further coinage is prohibited." The fact is it makes no difference whether any *units* or dollars as fixed by law are coined or not. If other coins regulated by this unit are coined, the value of the substance in the unit is the guide.

"Why," you ask men like this man, "was silver demonetized in 1873?"

"Because," they now answer, "it was at a premium over gold of 2 per cent and it had gone out of circulation."

"Where did it go?" you ask.

"To Europe," they reply, "where the bullion in a silver dollar was worth $1.02 as measured in gold."

When you answer that the United States produced about $35,000,000 of silver in 1873 at coinage prices, and ask: "What objection is there to settling our foreign balance with silver at 2 per cent premium instead of 50 per cent discount as now?" they say it is not bimetallism unless the two metals stay at the exact parity of 16 to 1.

These men do not know what bimetallism is. It may be desirable to let one metal go, as it would be now. With both as primary money we have bimetallism and bimetallic prices, whether one metal has a tendency to leave us more than the other or not. And if desirable to stop its leaving, a change in the ratio will do it and, if necessary, can do it so as to set the other metal going, so that we can feed Europe either metal we may choose.

They claim a large production of gold to show that there is enough of that metal to answer the purpose of primary money for the world, and yet the production of gold of the world for the ten years 1881 to 1890 is less than it was for the ten years 1851 to 1860, with the population of the world 40 per cent greater at the later period than the former period, and the volume of business and the necessities for money fully twice the volume and necessities of the former period.

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They speak of the large quantity of silver coined since 1873, and "point with pride" to the fact that the country refuses to absorb it. But they do not address themselves to our argument that the war made on silver, by which its commercial parity with gold has been broken, has made of it credit-money like nickel and copper, and that we do not expect it to be used until its position is restored and it is equally favored with gold. There is no necessity for coining silver into credit-money; paper will answer as well. Its true position is redemption or primary money.

They will tell you that Mr. Jefferson stopped the coinage of silver dollars for thirty-four years, but at the same time they will conceal from you the fact that between 1792 and 1840 there were twice as many dollars' worth of silver coined as there was gold coined, and that the mints were open to the free and unlimited coinage of both metals, and both were full legal tender in the payment of all debts. They also neglect to tell their readers the reason why Mr. Jefferson stopped the coinage of silver dollars,—viz., that because of the scarcity of silver, fractional silver coins served the people best.

They will tell you that the "free-silver" men are in favor of silver monometallism. And this is believed by a great many people. This misconception arises from the fact that we are trying to restore silver—to give it free and unlimited coinage—the position it once occupied. It seems that many people do not understand that gold now has, as it has always had, free and unlimited coinage. So that, in trying to restore silver, we use the term "free silver," but we are no less in favor of "free gold." We are bimetallists, believing in the free coinage of both metals.

The fifty-cent silver-dollar delusion has probably deceived more people than any one fallacy connected with this subject. But it will not deceive them much longer. If gold had been demonetized and the mints closed to its free and unlimited coinage and the work of redemption-money thrown entirely on silver by the same nations, we should have had fifty-cent gold dollars as measured in silver, just as we now have fifty-cent silver dollars as measured in gold.

They say that the silver-bullion owners are making this fight for silver. What about the gold-bullion owners whose metal is favored? But it is not true. No man stands in a position to know this better than I do. The silver-bullion owners are doing nothing to assist in this campaign, and are giving no financial assistance. The question is a question of adopting suitable property for use as money irrespec-

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tive of who owns the property or who may dig it out of the ground. I would a thousand times rather, however, do benefit to one section of my country and its people than to be subservient to the interests of England, whose gold is so dear and to get which we are giving up our property at a sacrifice and adopting a method that will bring national bankruptcy. The question now to be settled is whether we are to have an English gold policy or an American policy. As foreseen by Jefferson, gold, the rich man's money, is now "cornered," and we must go to the gold gamblers of Europe to get it.

I advise the people to take no one's word for the facts in this national controversy, but to send to Washington for the following books and documents:

1. A copy of the Currency Laws. If they send you a copy that leaves out part of the sections in the act of 1873, write back for a full copy of that act.

2. The Statistical Abstract.

3. The Report of the Currency Laws and other Information revised to August 1, 1894.

4. A copy of the Report of the Monetary Commission of 1876.

5. A copy of the Report of the Monetary Conference of 1878.

Men interested in class legislation are responsible for the change in our financial laws. Through a desire to support party measures or to indorse the acts of party leaders, tens of thousands of our most patriotic citizens have been led to adopt financial views without personal investigation. The present situation is the result of selfish measures prompted by selfish men. We intend to arraign these men before the bar of public opinion where abuse and misrepresentation will not be regarded as an intelligent defence.

W. H. HARVEY.

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THE GROTESQUE FALLACIES OF THE FREE-SILVER ARGUMENT.

I AGREE entirely with Mr. Harvey that so much doubt exists (in the minds of some people) as to the basic facts, and so many misrepresentations have been made, resulting in a cloud of dust thrown over the whole subject (of coinage), that one should protect one's self with undisputed authorities and appeal to the common sense of the American people.

Neither this Government nor any other government has established bimetallism, if by that is meant the general use of two metals at a fixed ratio settled by law. Just as a clock that has run down shows the correct time twice every twenty-four hours, it is true that occasionally the commercial and the legal ratio between gold and silver may have coincided and the coins of the two metals have been equally in circulation. But neither Mr. Harvey nor any one else would call that bimetallism. Our forefathers never imagined such a thing. In drafting the United States Constitution they gave Congress no other power to regulate the value of American coins than that given as to foreign coins. Nor had they any special intention of giving legal tender to anything. The Constitution upon this point reads: "Congress shall have power . . . to coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures." To hold, therefore, that the Federal Government has the right arbitrarily to prescribe the ratio at which citizens shall estimate the coins of one metal in terms of another is to hold that under identical words in the Constitution it is legal for Congress arbitrarily to prescribe, without reference to their actual value, not merely the ratio at which foreign coins shall be rated in comparison with our own, but at which they shall be accepted by our citizens in legal tender; or arbitrarily to prescribe that thirty pounds of wheat shall be received as a bushel in fulfilment of all contracts for delivery of wheat now outstanding. To claim this is to assert our Constitution to be one inviting revolution against intolerable tyranny. It is true that the jurisdiction to certify a fact involves

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the power to falsify as well as to verify. But it is upon the assumption that the power necessarily lodged somewhere will be exercised in accord with law and right that it is given. And to attempt to prove otherwise is to demonstrate not what the law is, but to point out the inadequacy of law.

Our Fathers in 1792 intended to establish neither "bimetallism," "monometallism," nor any "metallism" whatever. They took things as they found them—gold and silver coins in circulation. Nor did they attempt to create a unit. They accepted as such unit the coin which was then in most universal use about them by commercial sanction alone, and arranged to make coins of the same value, by putting into them the proper amount of silver. And so far were they from the idea of creating a new standard that, as a matter of fact, they decreed that the coin they proposed to mint should be "of the value of the Spanish milled dollar as the same is now current"—thus constituting *foreign* coin, at its commercial or bullion value, the actual standard by which the mint was to be governed. Recognizing the fact that gold was also actually used, they provided also for the coinage of a ten-dollar gold piece, to be "of the value" of ten of the silver dollars, each of which was in turn to be of the value of the Spanish dollar accepted as the standard. A laborious investigation was had as to the amount of silver and gold which the coins should respectively contain in order accurately to express their value, and the result was duly bulletined by the law in accord with the Constitutional provision "to coin money, and regulate the value thereof," just as at frequent intervals, to this date, the rates at which the several foreign coins are accepted at the treasury are duly bulletined, and as for fifty years effectively and up to date as a matter of law, the worth of certain foreign coins were and are estimated by Federal statute.

Inasmuch as Mr. Jefferson has been quoted, it may be instructive to note his own reasoning.

"The proportion between the values of gold and silver is a mercantile problem altogether. It would be inaccurate to fix it by the popular exchange of a half Joe for eight dollars, a Louis for four French crowns, of five Louis for tweny-three dollars. The first of these would be to adopt the Spanish proportion between gold and silver; the second, the French; the third, a mere popular barter, where convenience is consulted more than accuracy. The legal proportion in Spain is 16 for 1; in England 15½ for 1; in France 15 for 1. The Spaniards and English are found in experience to retain an over-proportion of gold coins and to lose their silver. The French have a greater proportion of silver. The difference at market has been on the decrease. The 'Financier' states it at present

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as at 14½ for 1. Just principles will lead us to disregard legal proportions altogether, to inquire into the market price of gold in the several countries with which we shall principally be connected in commerce, and to take an average from them. Perhaps we might with safety lean to a proportion somewhat above par for gold, considering our neighborhood and commerce with the sources of the coins and the tendency which the high price of gold in Spain has to draw thither all that of their mines, leaving silver principally for our and other markets. It is not impossible that 15 for 1 may be found an eligible proportion. I state it, however, as a conjecture only." . . .

"I find . . . that the present market price of gold and silver is in England 15.5 for 1; in Russia 15; in Holland 14.75; in Savoy 14.6; in France 14.42; in Spain 14.3; in Germany, 14.155, the average of which is 14.675. . . . I would still incline to give a little more than market price for gold, because of its superior convenience for transportation."

It can be imagined how astonished would be the Sage of Monticello should he be informed that his professed followers ignore his reasoning and are attempting to use him in support of an entirely different theory, which they have worked out by nice distinctions in his use of the word "unit."

The first coinage law was thus practically based on what we would now call silver monometallism—and foreign bullion was taken as the standard of value. And it so continued until the country became tired of it. The commercial ratio between silver and gold, perhaps correctly estimated at the time by Hamilton, had so promptly varied as to have left gold coins more expensive than those of silver of the same nominal value. The latter, therefore, were the ones which were used; and gold coinage, after repeated attempts to continue it at a loss, practically ceased.

In Jackson's time, with the express purpose of basing our currency upon gold, and relieving us from the disadvantages of silver monometallism, the ratio was so changed as to make gold coins cheaper than silver ones, and thus to make gold the actual standard of our circulation. This drove silver from circulation—and, as to the American silver dollars, with the apparent approval of everybody who remembered ever having seen one. As to small change, however, gold was inconvenient, and hence the law was so changed as to depreciate the value of silver used in pieces of a half-dollar and under, and make it a losing speculation to export them for bullion. Intentionally and effectively, therefore, the standard of our coinage was then fixed on a basis of gold monometallism; and since that time silver has not been coined or used here except as subsidiary to gold.

The theory that we have lately had bimetallism is as baseless as the suggestion that we had it in the early part of the century. If I

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offer my note when my credit is not good no one will discount it; if I procure the indorsement of one whose credit is good it will be discounted at once. It would be the indorsement, however, and not the note which would have passed current. For a generation our half-dollars, quarter-dollars, etc., have nominally passed current. Actually, however, it is the gold indorsement of the Government that has been accepted. A silver dollar to-day consists of half a dollar's worth of silver. With the gold indorsement of a solvent Government it passes for a dollar. That is, the gold indorsement passes for the remaining 50 cents that is not in the coin. To say that we have bimetallism, and that silver coins pass on a par with gold, is just as sensible, and no more so, as to state that my note for a million dollars is as good as Mr. Astor's simply because that when I have gotten him to indorse mine it is discounted at the same rate as is his. And just as even Mr. Astor's paper would be promptly refused were it found that he had presented me with a ream of blank checks indorsed by him, which I proposed to sign and use; so the gold indorsement of the Government would be promptly discredited should it bind itself by law to give its gold indorsement to an unlimited quantity of silver. The silver dollars with the Federal indorsement would then be worth the silver in them—only this and nothing more.

It is true that silver is the money of the poor—that is, that their transactions are largely such as involve amounts too small to be conveniently settled in gold. But as matters now stand, the money of the poor in this country is the same as the money of the rich—gold. To enable those who cannot afford pieces of gold large enough to be conveniently handled to have all the advantages of good money, our Government has put a gold indorsement upon every coin of other metals permitted to circulate, from the bronze cent and token 10-cent piece to the silver so-called "dollar" itself. If the idea is that poor people ought to have poor money, they can be deprived of good money by so misusing the Government indorsement as to make it worthless and leave the coins that they must use to become depreciated and to pass at their bullion value only. If, however, as I believe, the Government should help the poor to have as good money as anybody, it would seem to me well so to protect, by limiting its use, the Government's gold indorsement on the coins of other metals which it permits to circulate and which, more largely than the gold coins, are in the hands of the poor, as to insure that they shall continue to be as good as gold in the hands of every one who holds them.

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Except for the purposes of exportation as certified bullion (which is not here in question) unlimited coinage of any two metals at a ratio to each other fixed by the Government means exclusive coinage of the cheaper metal. For no one will bring to be coined for use as currency a given amount of metal which, producing a given amount of currency, will have cost him more than other metals which he can procure to be transmuted into the same amount of currency. To suppose otherwise is to assume that there are sufficient fools at large materially to affect the situation in this regard. Reason and experience alike show that this is not the case.

The legal-tender quality has no influence whatever upon the effective currency of any paper or metal, except so far as it constitutes an indorsement guaranteeing payment in the metal in lieu of which it is accepted. Just as, a hundred years ago, our forefathers adopted as their standard bullion certified by the Spanish mint, which was then circulating at its bullion value in this country, where no Spanish law could operate, so to-day both gold and silver circulate without reference to the stamp upon them or the law of the government coining it, unless that law is a guarantee of redemption in some other metal. We read daily about the export and import of gold expressed in dollars. As a matter of fact, coined gold is never used, except when bars cannot be secured; and so far is our law, establishing gold as the standard of our currency, from enhancing its price that, as a matter of fact, bar gold, which is not legal-tender, is, and has been always, since commercial facilities have been such as to certify to its weight and fineness, at a premium above gold double-eagles which are legal tender, and at a greater premium above smaller gold legal-tender coins.

Personally, I can no more imagine any defence for legal-tender legislation for gold than I can admit it for silver. In this world, however, there are things material and things immaterial; and most of us have time to trouble ourselves with the former only. If the value of gold was in the slightest enhanced or the instruments of exchange made more costly to our people by the legal-tender quality given to gold, it would be an outrage that should be righted—along with others of similar character. As a matter of fact, however, it is not pretended that any one has ever been compelled to accept gold against his will, or that there is any prospect that any one preferring silver cannot have it instead; while in actual experience the gold bullion which is not legal-tender is worth more in the market to-day

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than is the gold coin bearing the stamp of the Government. It is, therefore, perfectly immaterial that the law (actually a mere bulletin noting, but not affecting, commercial usage) is worded as it is. The advocates of free silver, however, are pressing for legislation to compel the acceptance of silver, not by those who do want it—no law is necessary for that—but by those who do not want it; and this at the importunity, not of those who prefer silver, but of those who, having it, or thinking they can procure it cheaply, wish to be enabled by law to force it upon others who neither have it nor want it. This seems to me the most pestiferous intermeddling possible.

When I contract to buy a coat for ten dollars the other party to the contract contracts to buy ten dollars from me for a coat. I am unable to see how it is any more reasonable to compel him by legislation to contract for silver dollars when he prefers gold ones, or to accept silver dollars when he has contracted for gold ones, than it would be to compel me to contract for a coat which I do not want, or to accept a coat for which I have not contracted. Of course it may be said that every one would still be free to make special contracts for either silver or gold, as he should please. But, in the first place, such is not the proposal of the more radical of the "friends of silver." And next, if the suggestion has any force it is destructive of the silver position. For that is precisely what, in regard to silver, every "friend of silver" can do now. If the law is to be changed it will either so obstruct or make inconvenient the use of gold, which most people now prefer, as to obstruct and interfere with commerce, or else it will have no effect whatever. The silver advocates are welcome to whichever horn of the dilemma they think the more comfortable one upon which to rest.

It is due to Mr. Harvey to commend the frankness with which he sets forth the financial feast to which we are invited. He suggests:

> "They say it is not bimetallism unless the two metals stay at exact parity of 16 to 1. These men do not know what bimetallism is. It may be desirable to let one metal go, [out of circulation?] as it would be now. With both as primary money we may have bimetallism and bimetallic prices, whether one metal has a tendency to leave us more than the other or not. And if desirable to stop its leaving, a change in the ratio will do it and, if necessary, can do it so as to set the other metal going, so that we can feed Europe either metal we may choose."

Bimetallism and bimetallic prices with silver alone in circulation—gold having left us, with the blessed privilege on our part to buy it back if we will change our coinage ratio so as to pay more for it, and of dumping our silver in Europe, if by the same change we offer

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it cheaply enough—and with the money end of every transaction at the sport of Congress, Mr. Harvey is altogether too modest in claiming a return only to the times of our fathers. There would be actually involved a relapse to the times of the patriarchs.

As to the suggestion that there is not enough gold in the world, even if we acquit Mr. Harvey of intentional misrepresentation in basing his argument upon annual production alone, it is proper to point out that, since gold is not consumed with the year in which it is produced, it is the total stock of gold extant in the world, and not the production of any year, that is material in considering the question of supply and demand. And, according to Mulhall, the world's available stock of gold in 1850 was $2,535,000,000, and of silver $4,880,000,000, or of both $7,415,000,000; in 1890, the figures were $6,175,000,000 and $6,065,000,000, or $12,240,000,000; while the increasing rate of the production of gold indicates that by 1900 we shall have more gold than in 1850 we had of both metals, in addition to the $620,000,000 of limited legal-tender silver and $3,400,000,000 of full legal tender silver that is still current in the world. Meanwhile commercial facilities, which cause transactions in cities to be so much more largely effected by substitutes for cash, instead of actual money, than is the case in the country, are so rapidly increasing—by the extent to which a larger proportion of our transactions are in cities, and also by the extent to which urban facilities are being extended to country districts—that they have made the amount of coin available very much larger in proportion, not merely to the population but to the business of the world, than ever before. What more can Mr. Harvey want?

But what does Mr. Harvey mean by saying there is not gold enough in the world? It is simply because gold is not as abundant as iron or copper that it has been chosen as a medium of exchange, and a small bulk of it is sufficient for the world's business—on account of its great value. Should he be able to make gold as cheap as iron, then gold would be as inconvenient as iron for purposes of currency. Again, if the contention of our silver friends be true, that by "demonetizing silver" half the money of the world has been extinguished and therefore prices cut in two, will somebody explain why, with prices at that basis, the one-half of the money remaining is not just as adequate for the purposes of business as would be twice that amount if each piece were worth half as much as measured in the price of goods? And how is the effective volume of circulation—that

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is, the amount of money available in proportion to the business to be done—to be increased by any process which proposes to increase the amount of currency in order that prices may be increased in proportion? Will not the then volume of currency be equally as restricted as is the present volume in proportion to the amount of transactions to be settled thereby? If Mr. Harvey changes the figures in his ledger so as to make each one double what it is now, and then doubles the nominal amount of his money as expressed in dollars, will he have any more currency for his business on the new basis than he had on the old? Or does he claim that the denominations into which the money is coined make any difference? If so, he and the rest of us can be made happy at once by getting more 10-cent pieces, quarters, and half-dollars in exchange for our fiat silver dollars, eagles, and half-eagles.

I do not think that fiat paper will answer just as well as fiat silver. The latter is at least worth 50 cents on the dollar. But the suggestion discloses the intimate relationship between the greenback craze and the silver movement. Nor do I agree that the true position of either gold, silver, or paper, is as "redemption money"—or as the free silver advocates are wont to say, "the money of ultimate redemption." There is no such thing as money being used for redemption except where good money or valuable money is used to redeem poor money or promises of money. The use of money is to stand as the medium through which exchanges of commodities can be made. The value of money consists only in the facility with which it is itself redeemable in the things that it will buy. That, and that only, is ultimate redemption; and, just as in the exchange of poor money for good money, so in the exchange of money for goods, that ultimate redemption is most successful which redeems it by offering for it the greatest amount of goods in exchange, and thus vindicates most thoroughly the quality of the money.

I have nothing but compassion for people who have so little national self-respect that they favor or oppose a course of national policy here because of the effect they think it will have upon the interests of England. Nor have I any feeling against the producers of silver bullion. Like everybody else they have a right to get the best price possible for their product; and, like everybody else, they are entitled to have their efforts to secure the assistance of law to enrich them at the expense of their fellow-citizens charitably considered in a nation which for a hundred years has tolerated and

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even encouraged that sort of attempt on the part of everybody whose interests have prompted him to make it. If neither the demand for, nor the value of, silver is to be increased in proportion to other commodities, then there is no excuse for this hullabaloo about the "demonetization of silver." If its use and value are to be increased, then of course the mine owners will be the first and greatest individual gainers. Under these circumstances,—even if one were to ignore well-known facts—to assert that "the silver bullion owners are doing nothing to assist in this campaign and are giving no financial assistance" is to attribute to them angelic disinterestedness which is almost offensive to us ordinary mortals. If it is deserved, Mr. Harvey ought to explain how long this has been the case. For it was not always so, and I have no doubt that he is familiar with the following:

"We, who are less benefited than any other portion of the Union by a high protective tariff, are asked to stand each session by the duties which the East formulates; and when we ask that our silver shall be also protected we are called speculators."—Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, June 18, 1890.

"We believe that by the expenditure of $40,000 or $50,000 the Boards of Trade of Chicago and New York, and even of old goldite Boston, could be made to pass resolutions asking Congress to give full recognition to silver. The silver committee, who are working for remonetization, think that with a small amount of money, used this year right away, they could bring such a pressure behind Congress and the President next winter as to secure the needed legislation. That legislation would make to the men who produce silver in this territory a difference of $3,000,000 per year."—Salt Lake "Tribune" (mine owners' organ), April 30, 1891.

It may be uncharitable, but I do not believe that the silver mine owners are any better than the rest of us. I thoroughly agree with Mr. Harvey that "the present situation is the result of selfish measures prompted by selfish men"; and, like him, "we intend to arraign these men before the bar of public opinion, where abuse and misrepresentation will not be regarded as an intelligent defence."

JOHN DE WITT WARNER.

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A RATIONAL CORRELATION OF SCHOOL STUDIES.

At the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, held in Boston in February, 1893, a committee was appointed for the purpose of preparing a report on elementary education, to supplement the Report of the Committee of Ten on secondary education, which had been appointed the previous year. The new committee, which was known as the Committee of Fifteen, was composed of Dr. W. T. Harris, the United States Commissioner of Education, and fourteen public-school superintendents, representing nearly all parts of the country. The Report[1] was formally introduced to the public at the Cleveland meeting of superintendents in February of this year. In view of the fact that the Report of the Committee of Ten had been so widely read and discussed, the Report of the Committee of Fifteen was naturally awaited with anxiety.

Three special phases concerning elementary education having been set down for consideration, namely, the training of teachers, the organization of city school systems, and the correlation of studies, the committee was divided by the chairman, Superintendent Maxwell, of Brooklyn, into three sub-committees of five. The document, therefore, was presented, not in the form of a report of a committee of fifteen, but in the form of three reports of committees of five.

The paper on the training of teachers, as well as that on the organization of city schools, except in matters of detail, met with general approval, and were commended for their excellence. In regard to the other report, however,—that on the correlation of studies,—an entirely different story is to be told. Its reading was followed by an ardent discussion. It was regarded by many as a defense of the mechanical routine, from which progressive teachers for many years have been endeavoring to depart; and it was feared that the report would exert a reactionary influence.

It is not my purpose to review the entire Report of the Committee. I desire to refer only to a single feature in the paper on Correlation—viz., the unification of studies, which was condemned.

[1] Published in the "Educational Review," March, 1895.

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As the problem of unification of studies does not represent a mere pedagogical quibble, but an educational principle so vital in character as to exert a marked influence both on the character of the instruction and the happiness of the pupil, I deem it my duty, in the name of the child, to enter a protest on the ground that the reference to unification was eminently unfair. And my purposes in writing this article are, first, to prove that the report on the unification of studies is not entitled to official recognition; and second, as well as I can, to present the question of unification—fairly; which, as I have said, was not fairly presented in the paper. My reasons for protesting against official recognition of the Report on Unification are:

First, that, owing to the very nature of its construction, the entire Report is a misnomer, as it is not a report of a committee of fifteen, but simply a report of a committee of five. Three committees of five do not constitute one committee of fifteen, simply because their papers are published in the same volume.

Second, that the comments on the unification of studies do not even represent the opinion of the majority of the committee of five, there being a dissent on the part of three members.[1]

Indeed, so strong are their dissenting remarks, as I shall point out farther on, that, if the remarks on unification had represented the views of the majority, they would have formed an admirable plea in favor of the very principle which the Report itself so heartily condemns. As, therefore, the remarks on unification have been condemned by a majority of the committee who are supposed to have written them, it is but natural that what has been circulated as the Report itself, should be regarded in the light of a dissenting opinion, and thus be robbed of much of its weight. By reason of these facts, it is clear that the so-called Report of the Committee of Fifteen can never be placed in the same category with the Report of the Committee of Ten. In the case of the latter, every point involved was discussed by a committee of ten, practically every chapter was signed by all members; and the conclusions were practically unanimous.

Third, unification was condemned on an entirely misleading argument—on a statement of the case so painfully incomplete as to mention only a perverted form of unification in which scarcely any one

[1] There were four dissenters to the report on correlation, which was signed by only one person, the Chairman, Dr. W. T. Harris. The report on the training of teachers was signed by five, and the report on the organization of city school systems by three.

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believes. Moreover, this incomplete discussion of unification proved a great disappointment to many of the teachers who had looked forward to the Report for guidance. As the terms "correlation of studies" and "unification of studies" had been usually regarded as synonymous, it was generally expected that the entire Report would be devoted to the consideration of this particular question. It came to pass, however, that the chairman of the sub-committee, Dr. Harris, entertained an entirely different notion, and drafted a report on other matters. If Dr. Harris had remained sufficiently consistent entirely to ignore the subject of unification, even then the question of unfairness might never have arisen. But briefly to present, at the close of his discussion, merely a picture of a most perverted form of unification, and on that picture to condemn the entire principle, was, without question, extremely unfair. It was not only an injury to the cause of the child; but it was a lack of recognition of the admirable work performed by some of our most successful educators, toward placing elementary education on a rational basis.

So much to prove that the report on unification is not entitled to official recognition. I shall now endeavor to present an outline of this principle in a manner that will point out the favorable, as well as the unfavorable features—the advantages, as well as the dangers.

The fundamental element in unification lies in teaching the child in such a way that he will be able to view ideas and processes in their relations to each other. In school-work, as ordinarily conducted, each branch of study is so rigidly isolated from all others that the child is unable to see that there is a true relation between ideas. He is, indeed, treated as if his mind were divided into well-defined compartments, separated by impenetrable walls, in order that there might be no blending of ideas. In the vast majority of our schools, even such closely related branches as penmanship, spelling, punctuation, and the construction of sentences are taught altogether independently. Thus, the routine work in written language, as followed in the ordinary school, might be represented by the following outline: As a spelling exercise, the child is obliged to write a list of words, arbitrarily selected, regardless of their relation or meaning; in penmanship the central point involves practice in forming small and capital letters, and in joining them together into words, regardless of any thought underlying these words; the same words or phrases are repeated over and over again to the end of the period; for practice in capi-

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talization and punctuation, a few arbitrarily selected sentences are dictated by the teacher; in the period devoted to grammar, the teacher may call for simple, complex, or compound sentences, with a sprinkling of prepositional and adverbial phrases, and so on; again, at designated periods, the pupils will be told to write compositions on abstract subjects, with which they may be not at all familiar; and, last, might be mentioned written answers to questions in geography, history, or some other subject, given for the purpose of testing how well the pupils have studied their lessons.

This is an illustration of what is understood by rigid isolation in instruction. Now, by reversing this process and slightly modifying it, the picture presented will be one of instruction by unification, in an elementary form; thus, for example, if, in place of answering test questions in geography, the pupil should write a composition on a geographical subject related to the lesson of the day, he would deal with more subjects in this single exercise, than are involved in the six exercises above described.

First, it would serve as a test of the child's knowledge; second, the mere writing of a composition on a lesson in geography would in itself serve to render the ideas more clear to the child, which direct answers to test questions can never do; third, it would involve an exercise in written language in all its phases—viz., spelling, penmanship, punctuation, capitalization, the construction of sentences, grammar, and composition. And this revolution is accomplished simply by regarding language as a mode of expression, and teaching it incidentally with the expression of ideas. Just as the child may learn to use written language while expressing ideas, he may learn to read while acquiring ideas, by making the mechanical process of reading incidental to the thoughts expressed in the reading-matter. That this plan of work has been successfully tried, I shall point out farther on. That some direct drill in each individual phase of language is necessary, scarcely any one would think of denying. The question at issue is simply this: namely, To what extent may these truly correlated subjects be taught in connection, without neglect to individual elements?

What I have thus far described, represents: first, the unification of ideas and the mode of expressing ideas,—the correlation of content and form; and second, the unification of the various elements in language.

The next step concerns the unification of subjects which, though apparently distinct, are nevertheless closely related. Prominent

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among these branches are geography and history. It requires no argument to prove that in all questions of conquest, history and geography are inseparable. Again, the influence of climate and soil, of mountains and rivers, on the development of a nation is apparent. That, to a certain extent, geography and history must each follow its own course, cannot be denied. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that, even while following their own courses, they continually meet and serve to throw light on each other. And again the question arises: To what extent may they travel together to mutual advantage and without the neglect of either?

Further, there is, on the one hand, a close relation between history, biography, and literature, and, on the other hand, between geography, plant and animal life. In short, when this argument is followed to its limit, it is seen that all forms of knowledge are more or less closely related. Owing to this latter fact, it is claimed by some educators that it is quite feasible to select a single subject as a pedagogical centre, and to cause all instruction to revolve around that centre.

This, then, is a description of what is understood by the unification or correlation of studies, in contradistinction to isolation in instruction. The purpose of unification, therefore, lies in the treatment of the various subjects in a manner that they may mutually support each other; or, in other words, that the ideas of each branch may serve to throw light on those of the others. In isolation, the subject are kept distinct and separate, so that the child does not see them in their true relations.

Concerning the opinions of teachers who favor unification, there are very few indeed who have gone so far as to advise the selection of a central study. Nearly all agree that this method is fraught with the danger of forcing relationships, simply for the purpose of unifying; which is fully as unnatural as complete isolation. They believe, that for the sake of making the work intelligible and interesting to the child, natural relations, so far as possible, should be preserved; but they do not forget that, for the sake of thoroughness, each subject must be, to a certain extent, taught independently. They are anxious to learn the golden mean. Hence, the argument in the report upon which unification was condemned did not apply to the majority of our progressive teachers at all. It applied merely to that very small number of educators who believe in centring all instruction around a single study. It was as follows:

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"Your committee would mention another sense in which the expression, 'correlation of studies,' is sometimes used. It is held by advocates of an artificial centre of the course of study. They use, for example, DeFoe's Robinson Crusoe for a reading exercise, and connect with it the lessons in geography and arithmetic. . . . A correlation of this kind, instead of being a deeper correlation such as is found in all parts of human learning by the studies of the college and university, is rather a shallow and uninteresting kind of correlation that reminds one of the system of mnemonics, or artificial memory, which neglects the association of facts and events with their causes and the history of their evolution, and looks for unessential quips, puns, or accidental suggestions with a view to strengthening the memory. The effect of this is to weaken the power of systematic thinking which deals with essential relations, and substitute for it a chaotic memory that ties together things through false and seeming relations, not of the things and events, but of the words that denote them. The correlation of geography and arithmetic and history in and through the unity of a work of fiction is at best an artificial correlation, which will stand in the way of the true objective correlation. . . . "

From this argument, the committee drew the following conclusion:

"There should be rigid isolation of the elements of each branch for the purpose of getting a clear conception of what is individual and peculiar in a special province of learning. Otherwise one will not gain from each its special contribution to the whole."

It may be clearly seen, therefore, that the conclusion, "There should be rigid isolation," etc., was drawn from an argument which was wofully incomplete and misleading. As one of our prominent educators aptly stated, "It was the play of Hamlet, with Hamlet left out."

That my view of the case accords with the views of the majority of the Committee is proved by the dissenting opinions that follow; and these dissenting remarks prove further that, if the Report had represented the opinion of the majority, it would have formed a very strong plea in favor of unification. In dissenting from the Report, Superintendent Charles B. Gilbert, of St. Paul, says:

"While in the main I agree with the bald statements under the head 'Correlation by synthesis of studies,' since reference is made to only a very artificial mode of synthesis not at all in vogue in this country, I must dissent emphatically from this portion of the Report as by inference condemning a most important department of correlation, to which I have referred earlier. The doctrine of concentration is not necessarily artificial; rather it refers to the higher unity, of which this Committee has spoken in glowing terms as belonging to the province of higher education. It includes also the division of the school curriculum into content and form, which this Committee inferentially adopts in its treatment of language. I do not believe, any more than do the majority of the Committee, that the entire course of study can be literally and exactly centred about a single subject, nor do I believe in any artificial correlation; but there is a natural relation of all knowledges, which this Committee admits in various places, and which is the basis of a proper synthesis of studies, according to the psychological principle of apperception. . . . This relation of form to content

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is vaguely referred to in the Report, but nowhere definitely treated. It seems to me that it is a true form of correlation, and, as such, deserves special and definite treatment. . . . The fact that it adds the important element of interest to the dry details of common school life makes it especially attractive to progressive and earnest teachers, and this Committee should recognize its importance and make such an utterance upon it as will guide the average teacher to a clear comprehension of its meaning and to a wise use of it in the school-room. . . . I regret to be compelled to express dissent upon so many points [Mr. Gilbert dissented on eleven points], but as most of them appear to me vital and as the differences appear to be not merely superficial but fundamental, affecting and affected by one's entire educational creed, I cannot do otherwise."

The dissent of Superintendent L. H. Jones, of Cleveland, follows:

" . . . It does not, as it seems to me, follow that, because correlation based on Robinson Crusoe is a failure, all correlations having the same general purpose will necessarily prove failures. For my own part I do not believe that correlation needs any 'centre,' outside the child and its natural activities. If, however, it seems wiser to give special prominence to any given field of acquisition, it should, in my judgment, be accorded to language and its closely related subjects—reading, spelling, writing, composing, study of literature, etc., etc. Indeed language as a mode of expression is organically related to thinking, in all fields of knowledge, as form is related to content. A 'system' or 'programme' of correlation on this basis would seek for fundamental ideas in all the leading branches and make them themes of thought and occasions of language exercises. The selections would omit all trivialities in all subjects, and would not attempt to correlate for the mere sake of correlation; but would seek to correlate wherever by such correlation kindred themes may be made to illuminate one another. To illustrate, concrete problems in arithmetic would be sought that would clearly develop and illustrate mathematical ideas and their application, but in a secondary way these problems would be sought for in the various departments of concrete knowledge—geography, history, physics, chemistry, astronomy, meteorology, political, industrial, or domestic economy. But none of these themes would be so relied upon for problems as to compel one to choose unreasonable or trivial relations on which to base them. The problems themselves should represent true and important facts and relations of the other subjects as surely and rigidly as they should involve correct mathematical principles; and all such exercises should be rightly related to the child's education in language.

"In like manner, when a child is engaged in nature study of any kind, some valuable problems in mathematics may be found rightly related both to the subject directly in hand and the child's natural progress in arithmetic. Also many of the lessons in nature study are directly related to some of the finest literature ever produced, in which analogies of nature are made the means of expression for the finest and most delicate of the human experiences. When the child has mastered the physical facts on which the literary inspiration is based, is the true time to give him the advantage of the study of such literature. These ideas are not only rightly related to one another, but to the mind itself. It is, so to speak, the nascent moment when the mind can easily and fully master what might else remain an impenetrable mystery; and all because subjects and occasion have come into happy conjunction. . . . This is not the place in which to attempt any elaboration of such a system of correlation. But I feel that its absence from the Report may make many persons feel that the latter is so far incomplete."

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Superintendent Maxwell, of Brooklyn, in his dissent says:

". . . I desire to express my agreement with the opinions stated in Sections 2, 3, 6 and 9 of Mr. Gilbert's dissenting opinion; and, in the main, with what Mr. Jones says on the correlation of studies." Superintendents Gilbert, Jones, and Maxwell constitute a majority of the sub-committee that framed the report. Superintendent J. M. Greenwood, of Kansas City, the other member of this sub-committee, also dissented on a number of points. As they did not, however, relate to the question of unification, I shall not quote from them.

The particular advantage claimed in favor of unifying the studies is, that *interest* in school work, on the part of the child, is greatly increased. This is due to several causes; and, of course, ability on the part of the teacher properly to apply the principle is essential.

First, when the mechanical studies are made incidental to thought, the drudgery of school work is reduced to a minimum, and the school is changed from a sombre institution into a house of life and sunshine. The work being much enriched, the child leads a life abounding in ideas and ideals, and the spiritual atmosphere of the class-room is markedly improved. That this is not merely a theory, may become clear, in my opinion, to any one who will visit schools where the principle of unification in instruction is observed. Among the prominent examples that have come under my own observation may be mentioned schools in Indianapolis, Minneapolis, and St. Paul.

Secondly, when the child views ideas in their proper relations, he frequently finds an immediate use for his knowledge. Other things being equal, interest in a thing is diminished in the same proportion use becomes remote. For this reason, we cannot measure the child's as its interests from the adult's standpoint; because what may be of great interest to the adult may be so far removed from the child that, to the latter, it will be of no interest whatever. For example, if a young man should find that there is nothing in the way of his securing certain employment, except the fact that he is a poor penman, the subject of penmanship may become so interesting to him as to lead him to practise this mechanical process with enthusiasm. Yet a plea to the young child, urging him to become a good penman because good writing will be useful to him when he is a man, will touch no chord in his emotions. But if we lead this same child to acquire ideas, and awaken in him from the start the desire to express his ideas in writing, then he will see an immediate use for penmanship, which thus will become a source of interest, and assume to him

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a true life-form. What is true of penmanship is no less true of spelling, punctuation, grammar, and composition.

Again, if we can succeed in creating within the child the desire to write, much more can be accomplished than when he writes simply because he is ordered to do so. Just as writing may be regarded as a mode of expressing ideas, so reading may be regarded as a means of acquiring ideas. Concerning the teaching of other branches, in their natural relations, I shall add nothing to what has been stated in the dissenting remarks by Superintendent Jones, already quoted.

In regard to the Committee's objections to incidental instruction in language, we find the statement that *learning to read and write should be the leading study of the pupil in his first four years of school.* That this is so, I do not think any one—not even the most radical—will deny. Indeed, to believe that the advocates of a natural system of education are willing, in *any degree*, to neglect those subjects, is no less than a delusion. Yet fully to recognize the value of reading and writing does not by any means imply that, in order to obtain satisfactory results, it is necessary rigidly to isolate the elements and thus make the instruction in language purely formal.

While it may appear perfectly logical to argue that we cannot do two things at the same time as well as we can do one of them alone, and, consequently, that in order to secure the best results in all departments of language it is necessary to treat each element as distinct and separate; nevertheless, in this instance, the conclusion does not accord with facts. The reason for the apparent contradiction is simply this: that logic and psychology are not one and the same thing. Those who would deduce psychological theories by logical reasoning forget that the mind of the child is an unknown quantity, and acts in a manner difficult to comprehend. There is, indeed, only one way in which we can tell what results will be produced by a particular method of instruction; it consists in trying the method and testing the results. The end and aim of education may be determined by abstract reasoning; but the most rational means of reaching the desired end can be determined alone by the study of the child.

In regard to results, my personal observations have proved to me that the poorest reading and writing—I refer to written language in its broadest sense—are found in the schools where the instruction in language is made purely formal, by a rigid isolation of the elements; while the best results in reading and writing are obtained in the schools where the fundamental plan lies in giving the child ideas

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and teaching language, to a considerable extent, incidentally, as a mode of expression and subordinate to ideas. Therefore, while logic speaks in favor of isolation, facts speak in favor of unification.

To state why children learn to read and write better when these branches are taught largely through a thought-medium, would be a matter of conjecture. Interest in the work may, in part, account for it. I shall not endeavor to explain the fact. Suffice it to say that it is a fact. I must, however, repeat the assertion that, with the diminution of formalism in instruction, the happiness of the child increases. If it should be necessary to purchase this happiness at the expense of results, the problem would still be an open one; for as the banishment of formalism not only relieves the school-work of drudgery, but improves the results as well, I do not understand how there can be any longer two sides to the question.

While I have undertaken thus to criticise the Report on the Correlation of Studies, I do not wish to be understood as implying that, in my opinion, the Report is without merit. On the contrary, the discussion of educational values is, without question, an excellent analysis, which, in part, cannot fail to prove beneficial to our teachers. But, while recognizing the general excellence of the Report, we must not lose sight of the fact that it is not a report of a committee of fifteen. And, while all should be grateful to Dr. Harris for giving us an analysis of educational values, it is but just to the child to bear in mind that the remarks on the unification of studies do not represent the views of the majority of the committee. It is no less fair to say that, in thus ignoring the opinions of the majority and substituting therefor his own views, Dr. Harris overstepped the limit of his authority, and assumed the position of a dictator. This is the more unfortunate for the reason that in other countries the Report will be regarded as representing the trend of American educational thought, which, in the question at issue, is in the opposite direction. For, if the views of the majority had been respected, the Report would have expressed the belief that much could be done toward uplifting our schools by teaching the subjects in their proper relations, that is, by educating the child on a rational system of unification.

J. M. Rice.

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AN AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN FACT.

It was near the middle of this century before we realized that a Western State, not long before a territory, had become famous in Europe for a university more advanced in method than most of our higher institutions of the older States. The University of Michigan was founded as early as 1817. The charter implied one of the broadest and most radical educational programmes ever conceived. It discarded all those elements that stood in the way of making common and higher schools a unit; it discarded the separation of the sexes at some variable point in the progress of mental training; it discarded the idea that higher education was to create a learned class and educated citizens; it discarded the idea that the church owned or should control higher education while the State controlled the lower. It adopted the idea that higher education, as much as that of the common schools, was an affair of the State. It enacted that the University should be sustained by taxation. It was not till 1870, however, that Michigan connected all the high-schools of the State to the University, admitting their graduates to the University exactly as secondary schools received as pupils graduates of the primaries. So it came about at last that one State had a completely unified secular system of instruction, reaching by natural gradation from the lowest schools to the University. This University was the crown and bond of all the rest.

Although the first charter of this University enacted State support, it was not till 1867 that Michigan assumed in the fullest sense the obligation involved. In that year it was voted that $15,000 annually should be paid to its support. The amount was small, but the principle was established. It declared that a State system of education ought to be provided for by each State, and that its sustenance should be provided by the State. More than this was implied, namely, that such a system ought not to be compelled to beg for its living, or be dependent on the whims of legislators for annual or less frequent gifts; it was entitled to as regular support as the governor and the legislators and judges. In 1873 one-twentieth of a mill on all taxable property was fixed as a regular university-allow-

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ance. By this rate of taxation the amount received annually was about $56,000. This was increased by special appropriations to about $100,000 a year. Having once assumed the support of the University, the people felt near to it; they owned it, and participated in its glory; it became the pride of the State. In 1893, the taxation was voluntarily increased to one-sixth of a mill; and on that basis the University now receives annually $188,000. Besides this the special annual appropriations amount to nearly $100,000 more.

This complete State-system of education does not include, of course, all the schools of the State. There are many private schools of excellent rank; and, besides these, there are five or six colleges founded for religious purposes, which are under ecclesiastical control. They are only in a general way under State supervision, and are allowed to go on their own way as they choose. I do not know that there is anything to hinder the affiliation of such institutions with the university, provided such incorporation were desired. It is thought by some that this will be the ultimate outcome with several of these independent colleges. The existence of a completed State educational scheme makes the existence of all outside institutions more precarious, and their multiplication very improbable.

The plan adopted by Michigan has been followed by one after another of the newer formed States, until there now exist State universities from Virginia to California. Many of these are of splendid conception and proportions, and not a few are as deserving of notable mention, except in precedence, as that one I have selected. They have in a few cases surpassed their example, particularly in having more completely affiliated scattered colleges as well as common schools. In a few cases rival institutions have been able by extraordinary endowments to prevent the perfect unification of a State system. These difficulties will be overcome in proportion to the liberality of the people through their legislatures. It is a shame to any people that private munificence should surpass public spirit, or a millionaire be allowed to outdo a commonwealth.

The Michigan system is Jefferson's educational plan completed. It seems to have been very nearly what he hoped for when he labored to create a university of his native State. No one can have followed the labors of this great statesman, extending through thirty years, to establish in Virginia a central institution of learning, without mingled pleasure that he saw his plan adopted so far as a university was concerned, and regret that he could not have seen the complete

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system, which he outlined, worked into practice. To this day the University of Virginia falls short of eminent greatness and growth, because it is handicapped by being dissociated from the rest of the school-system of the State. But most of the older States were even less fortunate than Virginia. Few of them have found it possible even yet to create a university; much less to complete a union of the lower and higher schools. In New England the colleges were established by the church for the church. They did not in any sense belong to the State, except as the church dominated the State. When church power began to wane in political and educational affairs, too many old and rival institutions existed to allow any one of them to become the specific State institution and the head of secular education. Most of our Eastern States still have colleges and universities scattered about, without relation to each other; each striving to build its own influence, more or less, at its neighbor's expense.

New York and other Middle States each followed the New England policy. Every college arose as the organ of some church policy, or was considered in some way as affiliated with a religious sect. But the drift for about a third of a century has been to loosen ecclesiastical influence. The more recently founded colleges and universities are nominally in many cases independent. They belong to corporations, and are not the property of either church or State. In most of the older States it now stands that higher education is striving after self-support. That this condition is sensibly better than the first is hardly demonstrable. It seems rather to be an off-clearing period, a transition stage to a complete State-system of education. The problem in these States is now, Shall the State, which has built up a common-school system, continue the organic system to the top? How shall there be brought about a systematic coherence and unity of schools such as exists in the newer States?

New York exceptionally has a system which we may technically call the Hamiltonian system. It is a university without buildings, instructors, or pupils. Its aim was to bring about some sort of unity among schools that were in part of the church, and in part of the State. Its ablest defenders speak of it as a compromise. The powers belonging to this remarkable conception are to charter and to revoke charters of all higher institutions of learning, besides being an eleemosynary agency in distributing funds. Instead of being a university, it is rather a small branch of the legislature with a few delegated functions. It is an anomaly that no other State has cared

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to cumber itself with. It stands in strong contrast with the Jeffersonian system, as carried out in Michigan; and certainly fails to be an institution capable either of unifying and harmonizing State education, or of inspiring those below it by its genius and grasp of the great educational problems of the age.

The problem is most difficult, however, in States where, ignoring existing institutions of rank, the legislatures undertook to create universities, *de novo*, by edict. The result has been State universities that have had to elbow their way with universities not of the State, but equally entitled to be, and in no wise likely to be hid under a legislative bushel. These are, in some cases, as honestly entitled to State patronage as the creatures of the State. The affiliation of all colleges and universities that are non-sectarian, or are willing to become such, would be a wiser course.

In a few of the older States, however, circumstances have elevated a single college to a rank equivalent to a State institution. This is true, in Connecticut, of Yale; in New Jersey, of Princeton; in Rhode Island, of Brown; and in some respects it is true of Harvard, in Massachusetts. Yet in few of these cases have the States adopted a college, and made it systematically a recipient of public taxes. I do not know that it would in all cases be wise to do this; yet it would surely be wiser in all cases to accept an institution already well-endowed, powerful in influence, and sure to greatly embarrass a State university if not adopted. The present system has the immense disadvantage that, in its impartiality, it has no fostering power in any direction. State influence is negative. It is impossible to endow by taxation any of the rival colleges, because that would be to sustain sectarianism. There seems to be but little doubt that in most of the older States the ecclesiastical affiliation of our greatest institutions is so weakened that it would be cheerfully exchanged for State patronage.

The present system leaves all our colleges in need of support. They are always soliciting aid and always in need of more than they can get. In fact there is not one of our scattered colleges and universities that is not requiring as well as asking help. So vast are the strides of education in methods that it is impossible even for the wealthiest institutions to keep pace with the advance. Meanwhile what can be said of the smaller, and in some cases older and renowned colleges? Simply that they exist on the generous self-sacrifice of their undergraduates and patrons. They are unable to furnish libraries and laboratories, and endow chairs that keep them in touch

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with modern research. In not a few cases the curriculum is a whole generation behind the younger universities.

The problem, the chief educational problem of the older States, therefore, is what to do with their colleges. Can there be devised any method whereby these shall be adopted by the States, and sustained in vigorous ability to give to their undergraduates the very best thought and culture of the age? The problem is complicated, or rendered more difficult for immediate settlement, by the fact that a large part of the *alumni* of these institutions do not comprehend the difficulty. Educated in the old classical routine, they know little of the evolution in pedagogy and of the new world of scientific investigation. They see their colleges without growth, if not in decadence, and are anxious to aid on the old lines. But the gift of $50,000 or $100,000 is gulped down with hardly a perceptible change. The cry for help is really made louder by such gifts. They enable a classical school to begin to face with the age, and barely to begin. The patience of the constituency is worn out by the continual subscriptions asked for; and the tide of students runs all the faster over to the larger and more wealthy, but probably much younger, colleges. In nearly all cases the most prosperous institutions are of recent endowment, and are the creatures of the new era of millionaires. But even millionaires die, and there is a limit both to their ability and to their generosity. But there is no limit to the needs and necessities of a university. It is folly to found any more universities without a patronage that will insure them an *increased* income annually. An endowment of $1,000,000 is an aggravation; $100,000 is barely enough to cover the absolute annual demands of chemistry, or of a single branch of biology. This puzzles the graduate of thirty years ago, who has gone into business or politics, and who benignly supposes education to mean now what it did when he graduated. Dr. Andrew D. White, formerly President of Cornell University, in an article in THE FORUM for January, 1889, said:

"To found an institution and call it a university, in these days, with an income of less than a quarter of a million dollars a year, is a broad farce. Even with that sum many of the most important spheres of university activity must be neglected. Twice the amount is not more than adequate . . . the tendency is ever toward a greater expenditure. This is neither to be scolded at nor whined over. Just as the material demands of this wonderful time have created vast hotels, steamships, and railway systems, so the moral and intellectual demands are creating great universities. One result is as natural and normal as the other . . . to go back from the present university to the old sort of colleges would be like giving up railroads and going back to stage coaches. . . . To provide

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and maintain an efficient university library to-day costs more than was required thirty years ago to maintain a large college; to carry on any one of the half-dozen laboratories required for a university may cost in these days a sum larger than some of our largest universities then required."

What, then, are we to do with our colleges that have been left in the rear, that can never hope to do work of this advanced type? The answer is often given, and it is a rather popular reply just now, "Let them be content to do college-work, while the larger colleges aspire to do university-work proper." The distinction is not so easily drawn. Our youth demand an education up to the times. They know well that in a large and well-endowed institution they can secure advantages not possible in a small college with an income of $25,000 a year. The small college will grow smaller, relatively if not actually. It may sustain a semblance of life. It will do so only if able and willing to reach out into that sphere of studies and research which you distinctively pass over to the universities. As a consequence there is no line of demarcation between our colleges and universities. It is true only that some of them do more university-work than others. No university shuts out, or can exclude college-work; and no college can content itself with a distinctively lower grade of work. The only distinction is that, while a smaller college must content itself with a single professor in biology, the larger colleges subdivide the department into a dozen or more branches. Can undergraduates be expected to patronize in any large measure those institutions affording only narrow facilities for investigations and culture?

The escape from this condition of affairs, it has been expected and hoped, would be through the munificence of rich men. But the result has been, so far, the founding of more colleges or universities, without systematizing education generally, and only more greatly to depress and embarrass colleges already existing. President Hill urged upon men of wealth that they should unite their plans and gifts by selecting institutions whose location and present means made it possible to lift them into the rank of real universities. "In almost every State," he urged, "there is some existing educational foundation which could be made the nucleus of a true university. It is fully to be hoped that men of liberal minds will combine to build up institutions which shall make our country equal to less favored lands in the respect in which it is at present notably deficient."

There is but one outcome for this confusion. The transfer of our older educational system from church to State must be completed.

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There is no good reason why it should not be. The system existing in the newer States is rational and has been naturally evolved. It grades from the lowest upward, and points to a national university to be. Our own scattered colleges, now "undenominationalized," if not secularized, can be gathered into groups and unified. In Connecticut, for example, the problem is a simple one. Yale College is the unquestioned University of the State. But when a single institution does not overtop all others, the true university plan remains as an easy solution. The University of Toronto was formed of several dissevered and fameless institutions. The organic union has been of great advantage in all possible ways. The result is strength in place of weakness; and any student leaving any one of these formerly unknown corporations is now known as a graduate of a great university. Chicago University, with its affiliated colleges, is very suggestive in this connection. Reaching out freely, this university is made up of any and all that desire to be included with it on a required uniform basis. A State university may in like manner be composed of many corporations united in a head-centre. The board of general management must of course be one; but including the deans or presiding officers of the subordinate affiliated colleges. State patronage reaching one would reach all. No branch of the university could be poorer than any other, except when private munificence might supplement State support. The tax paid by the people for education would cover the whole State system. In New York the present university might be made a teaching institution, or it would be possible to select some institution as the centre where the president should have his residence. Such a plan would create a great university in the fullest sense of the word. New York, in creating such a university, would make it at once the foster-child of the commonwealth.

The breach of common schools and colleges or classical schools has been not only in organic relation; but, as a consequence, there has been a breach of spirit and method. The colleges, untouched by the popular life, have remained more mediæval in temper and in curriculum. There, those languages and sciences found most useful in the days of Europe's Renascence have held their place, to the comparative exclusion of recent investigations. The combat to dislodge them has been vigorous but incomplete. Mediæval manners also cling around these classical halls. Co-education has been accepted very reluctantly, and by many rejected with contempt. On the other hand the lower schools have suffered from the same alienation, but

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in another way. Dr. W. T. Harris urges rightly that the person who has had his training in the lower schools only, has learned to lay stress on a sort of mental mechanics—reading, writing, and computing with figures. Such a person looks on education purely for its business worth. It has never occurred to him to value truth for its own sake. The larger grasp of mind, whereby the relations of truths are perceived, belongs to the colleges. Dr. Harris, however, true to the classical spirit, urges that free education, in high schools, up to the present, has resulted in the production of a vast intellectual current of Philistinism. Secondary education has been diverted from pointing right onward toward higher education, and rests content with arrested development. The recent increase of high-schools from 500 to 5,000 is only to increase a state of affairs that ought not to exist at all. The Committee of Ten has endeavored to reach down the classic method, and interlink the college curriculum with that of high-schools. But it is questionable whether the popular modern spirit of the common schools is not still more needed in the colleges. I see no way for harmony in our school system but for the classics to yield ground to the extent that, while language is pressed back somewhat upon the common schools, science is accepted more fully as the real soul of a wise culture in our colleges. Mediævalism with its tassels and gowns and its monastic notions should not be allowed to step over the threshold of the twentieth century.

Co-education has never been a question to create discord in our common-school system; but while in our high-schools boys and girls may work together up to any age, in our collegiate system they have been monastically separated. I do not discuss the wrong done to girls, and the greater wrong done to boys; but I wish to call attention to the fact that this folly is perpetuated by the incoherency of our school system. A completed State system would wipe out the line of distinction between schools that "co-educate" and schools that will not. In other words we find that we have our common schools by general Aryan inheritance, while our colleges and female seminaries come down by another descent from the monasteries and nunneries of the Middle Ages. The two systems must be harmonized.

It is getting high time for mediævalism, in all its phases, to be discarded from our educational institutions. Their patrons wonder that college boys still indulge in pastimes that are boorish, and not seldom brutal. It is a survival of unfittest customs when, as we are told, all young men were accustomed to make night raids on gates, fences, signs,

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and clothes-lines. These disagreeable customs no decent young man outside a college now thinks of countenancing. They would not for one moment be tolerated with our common-school pupils. A thoroughly modern college system will fit into our times. It will have the full spirit not only of modern thought but of modern manhood. In fact our chief concern at present is to harmonize the lower and upper forms and the spirit of school life; and to bring into harmony and a single system all the schools of the State.

Finally it will be possible to create a national university in its most perfect sense only as we have our State systems completely graded and unified. Politically, America is marvellously one. Federalism became possible, however, only because there was a similarity of State organizations. Education remains largely inchoate and fragmentary because of State idiosyncrasies or neglect. To complete an American educational system will be the glory of our age. We cannot defer the work without great waste, perhaps disaster.

That we have as a people simply to repeat the education of monarchical Europe is a blunder. It was well that at the beginning of our national life Washington declined to concur in the enthusiastic proposition of Jefferson to transfer the Swiss College of Geneva bodily to America. We had new problems, and a constitutional life was begun diverging from all antecedent civilizations. Education must correspond to institutions. It is the underlying force of national, as it is of individual, character. All evil and all good—all disaster as well as all prosperity—find their source in the education of the people.

E. P. Powell.

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COLLEGE FINANCES: THE BEST INVESTMENT IN THE WORLD.

In the United States are no less than twenty colleges, each having an income-producing property of at least one million dollars. Among these are our two oldest colleges, Harvard, which has more than $8,000,000, and Yale which has about $4,000,000. Columbia has an amount of property, largely real, that brings an annual revenue of at least $425,000; Cornell has about $6,000,000; the University of Chicago has $4,000,000; and Johns Hopkins has $3,000,000. The Northwestern University also has $3,000,000, and the University of Pennsylvania somewhat more than $2,500,000; Wesleyan University, of Middletown, Conn., has more than $1,000,000, as also has Amherst as well as Boston University; Rochester University has about $1,200,000; Tulane University, of Louisiana, is to be placed above the million mark, as are also Western Reserve University, of Ohio, and Brown University, of Rhode Island. Besides these, as the list is not complete but representative, several State universities are possessed of either funds or an income assured by the State, representing property of at least $1,000,000. Among the wealthier of these universities are those of California, of Michigan, and of Minnesota. The wealth, which is either actually or potentially possessed by several of these universities, that crown the educational system of their commonwealths, is simply magnificent. It had its foundation in lands set aside for the support of education. Although certain parts of these public lands were, in the early settlement of these States, sold at a ridiculously low figure, yet, in the newer States, they are still held or have been sold at good prices. The present financial condition of some of the largest of these land-grant colleges may be indicated by a few examples. In 1892 the total income of four of these universities amounted to $728,578.28, divided as follows: University of Michigan, $106,960.77; University of Minnesota, $197,572.81; University of Ohio, $157,189.70; and the University of Wisconsin, $266,855.00.

In the United States are no less than four hundred and fifteen

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colleges reporting more or less fully to the National Bureau of Education. If, therefore, the number of colleges possessed of more than $1,000,000 each is so small, it is evident that the vast majority of our colleges are poor. The number of colleges which have each less than $200,000 in interest-bearing funds is considerably larger than the number of those which have more than $200,000. The latest report (1891–92) of the Commissioner of Education shows that these colleges have $86,698,333 in interest-bearing funds. It is certainly not far away from facts to say that, at the present time, our colleges have at least $100,000,000 whence they derive the income for their support. It is made clear from the same report that, at the present time, the value of the grounds, buildings, and apparatus of these colleges is another hundred million of dollars. The exact figures in 1891–92 were $88,784,901.[1]

It is of special interest to know in what forms this sum of a hundred million of dollars is invested. In presenting the facts I make use of reports sent to me from between one hundred and two hundred of the representative colleges, and also of reports of presidents and treasurers of these colleges. From these reports I infer that at least four-fifths of all the productive funds of the colleges are invested in bonds and mortgages. Few colleges and a few only have a part of their endowment in stocks of any sort. A few of them, notably Columbia and Harvard, have invested largely in real estate. The facts as to certain representative colleges are illustrative: Cornell University has about $4,000,000 in bonds and about $2,000,000 in mortgages; Wabash has property of $362,000, of which $18,000 are in buildings, $21,000 in bonds, $323,000 in mortgages; the University of California has somewhat more than $2,000,000, equally divided between bonds and mortgages; Wesleyan University has $1,125,000, of which $81,000 are in real estate, $260,000 in bonds, $77,000 in stocks, $686,000 in mortgages; of the $3,000,000 possessed by Northwestern University, $150,000 are represented in buildings, bonds and mortgages, and the balance is embodied in lands and leases; the property of the University of

[1] The equipment of universities and colleges in the United States, according to the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1891–92, was as follows: Number of scholarships, 4,914; number of fellowships, 234; number of endowed professorships, 498; libraries—bound volumes 4,661,205, pamphlets 1,066,963; value of scientific apparatus and libraries, $11,168,272; value of grounds and buildings, $88,784,901; productive funds, $86,698,333. Total value of equipment, $186,651,506.

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Pennsylvania, more than $2,500,000, is divided into $357,000 in buildings, $514,000 in bonds, $127,000 in stocks, $429,000 in mortgages, and the remaining million is, as the treasurer describes, "in other values." Harvard's immense property is changed in the forms of its investments more frequently than the property of many colleges; but of its eight or more millions, railroad bonds and real estate represent the larger share, the amount of bonds exceeding the value of real estate.

The college has no right to run financial risks: its funds are trust-funds. Unlike certain other large investors, too, the college regards regularity in the receipt of its income as of extreme importance. Its expenses consist largely of the cost of instruction. The gentlemen who give instruction are usually without other source of income than their salaries. The man worth a million may invest his million in bonds, which may defer payment of coupons five years without special inconvenience to himself. The college worth a million could not defer the interest of its bonds five years without disaster. Colleges cannot afford to have their income depend upon commercial fluctuations.

I asked President Eliot some years ago why Harvard was putting so much money into real estate in Boston. His reply was that, though the rate of income was low, about 4 per cent, and though the buildings were subjected to all sorts of charges, and the trouble of making repairs was considerable, yet the increase in value served to make good and more than good the low rate of income. Most colleges, however, have not seen fit to secure real estate for the purpose of an income. It represents, for most institutions, rather an annoying kind of investment. Moreover, it cannot be denied that the income of most real estate is more or less contingent. We must grant, too, that the possibility of increase in the value of real property carries along with itself the possibility of decrease.

On the whole, the securities which the colleges own are the best of the second-order of investments. Colleges have few United States and few State and few municipal bonds; but they do own large amounts of the best railroad bonds and of the bonds of waterworks companies, somewhat also of the bonds of street railways and also small amounts of the bonds of the counties of Western States. As my eye runs down the list of securities of Cornell University I find a record of county bonds in several Western States, as well as railroad bonds, but county bonds seem to predominate. Turn-

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ing to a college of quite a different position and history, Washington and Lee, in Virginia, I find that, out of $628,000, $234,000 are invested in securities of the State of Virginia; that town and county bonds are represented by a few thousand dollars; and that railroads in the South represent the larger part of the balance. A college of a different environment and condition is Rochester University, New York. Of its $1,200,000, $335,000 are in railroad bonds.

The real estate mortgages, which colleges own, represent, in my judgment, a better class of investments. These mortgages are, with certain exceptions, placed usually on property in the neighborhood of the college itself. The officers of the college, therefore, know the value of the security and also the general responsibility of the owner who gives the mortgage. If a college is situated in a city, its money is lent frequently on real property within the city itself. Adelbert College, of Western Reserve University, lends considerable money on notes secured by mortgages on property in the city of Cleveland, and it lends little or none on property outside. If a college is located in a small town in a newer State of the West, it usually lends on the security offered by farms within a radius of fifty miles. Carleton College, in Minnesota, lends on mortgages placed on farms near Northfield; Wabash on mortgages covering farms near Crawfordsville, and Ohio Wesleyan on mortgages on farms situated near Delaware.

The New England colleges do not usually possess the advantage of lending money in large amounts at good rates in mortgages on property located near themselves. Several of them have sent large amounts of money into the West, into Western cities and into Western farms. Several of these colleges have made these ventures in the face of great doubt on the part of their more conservative trustees. But the security offered in a State like Minnesota may be as good as that offered in a State as old as Massachusetts; and the security offered through business property in Minneapolis may be better than that offered through a farm in Maine. The hinge of the whole matter is that the agent who invests funds for a college should be a good judge of values, both material and personal. A few colleges are known to me as having invested heavily a few years ago in mortgages on Western farms. The principal of not a few of these loans was too large. These colleges, therefore, have found themselves in difficulties through a failure of interest, and also through being obliged to pay the taxes on farms to save the farms from becoming absolutely lost.

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The rate of interest which colleges are now receiving varies much. It has suffered a uniform decline in the last ten years, both East and West. From returns made to me, I gather the following facts: Wesleyan University at Middletown has for its present rate 5 per cent; Washburn, Kansas, receives still 8 per cent, but is suffering a decline of 1; Randolph-Macon College, Virginia, received last year $6\frac{1}{2}$; Washington and Lee University received about 6; Drury College received about 8 on mortgages, and it, too, has suffered a decline of 1 per cent; Vanderbilt gets between 6 and 7; the University of Chicago, 5; the University of Minnesota reports 4 and 5 per cent; the University of California, an average of 6; Western Reserve receives 6; the rate at Harvard of recent years has been about 5. In the report for 1889–90 it was given at $4\frac{94}{100}$; in the report for 1892–93 it was given at $4\frac{99}{100}$.

Among the questions which I have asked four hundred colleges is: "Do you know of college funds impaired through bad investments or through expenditure for current expenses?" With only a few exceptions the answer has been an absolute negative. One college treasurer says, "Of recent years our endowment funds have remained intact." Another treasurer writes, "We do not use college funds for current expenses, but have made some poor investments in Western lands." Another says, "Not to any extent." Another says, "In twenty-three years we have not impaired our funds through bad investments. We have used very little of the permanent fund for current expenses." Although few colleges may be able to return so good a report as comes from the Board of Regents of the University of California—"Expenditures have never reached income; we never expend money or create financial obligations unless we have the money on hand or assured"—yet it is apparent that the funds of the American college have, on the whole, been well preserved.

It is, therefore, just to infer that the great sum of $100,000,000 entrusted to the American colleges is invested well; well in point of security, well, also, in point of income. This result is secured through the ability of the colleges to call into their service the ablest financiers. The trustees represent the best brain and the purest character. Harvard College, the colleges in New York City, the colleges in Cleveland, the colleges in Chicago—to go no further West—have been able to retain the services of the best men in their communities. The financial management of the colleges in the United States has, on the whole, been abler than the management of the

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banks of the United States. The University of California, for instance, never made a bad investment but once, and that of only $22,000. "We then," says a member of the Board of Regents, "bought bonds of that amount, which had been pronounced good by the Supreme Court of this State; the same bonds were subsequently pronounced unconstitutional by another Supreme Court." In a word, there is no investment so safe, there is no investment so certain of rendering the service which it is ordained to render, as money entrusted to a well-established college.

The American college is rich because of its enrichment through its friends. It is only a money-receiving institution, not a money-making agency. Occasionally a college has tried to make money; in some instances, the trial has resulted favorably, in other cases in loss. I now recall the case of Colorado College, which, through the endeavor of a former president to make money by a real estate speculation, was driven to the brink of bankruptcy,—a condition from which it has gallantly recovered. The lottery was a very common form of college beneficence in the early part of the century. Nearly all colleges then existing received money in this way. Stoughton Hall and Holworthy, at Cambridge, were erected from the proceeds of lotteries. In fact, a lottery for the benefit of Harvard was established as early as 1745, and another in 1794; in the latter lottery the College held the lucky ticket and drew a prize of $10,000. On April 13, 1814, the legislature of the State of New York passed an act granting the following sums to three colleges and a church: to Union College $200,000, to Hamilton College $40,000, to the College of Physicians and Surgeons $30,000, and to Asbury African Church, New York, $4,000. The State made these grants on the basis of securing these sums from the proceeds of lotteries.

The whole property of American colleges, which can now be estimated as at least $200,000,000, is increasing with great rapidity. To this sum every year several millions are added. The motives which lead persons to give money to the college are manifold. But, possibly, these motives may be found in one of three classes. First, college funds are secure: the college has been proved to be the best trustee. Banks become bankrupt; railroads go into receivers' hands; commonwealths repudiate their bonds; but I now recall only one college that has failed to meet its financial obligations. The reason of this security is found in the ability and capacity of the men who are the trustees of the college. The second

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motive in giving to the college is found in the comprehensiveness of the beneficence which the college represents; for the college does represent doing good at every one of the points of the intellectual and physical compass. Mr. Matthew Vassar, considering the devise of his fortune, determined to found a hospital—he founded a college. Founding a college, he founded a hospital. The college helps to do away with the need of the hospital. Funds given to the college are funds given to the cause of the fine arts; for the college is ordained to promote culture, and culture is at once the cause of the promotion of the fine arts and the result of their progress. Money given to the college is money given to the church. Money given to the college is money given to foster the profoundest influences of character over character as lasting as the human soul. A further motive of beneficence to the college grows out of the memorial purpose. This purpose has close relations to the security which college funds possess. Because these funds are safe, the college is used as a fitting agency to entrust the memorial to. The names of scores of our colleges represent this memorial purpose. Harvard commemorates John Harvard, who bequeathed a few hundred dollars; Johns Hopkins commemorates Johns Hopkins, who gave three millions; Yale, Yale, who gave a wooden dormitory; Cornell, Ezra Cornell, who gave of his munificence and his wisdom; Williams, Colonel Williams. The list is a long one, as it is most honorable. In fact, it is hardly too much to say that no memorial is more secure than one entrusted to the care of a college. If a man of this century should return to this earth in the year 3000, he would be more likely to find a trust reposed in a college more carefully conserved than any other duty laid upon humanity.

But the colleges must, as a rule, spend all their income year by year. Cornell has a unique way of reserving 5 per cent of its estimated income of the coming year. If the year, when it is passed, shows a surplus, the surplus goes into the fund available for the year yet to follow—as excellent a way as it is uncommon, and one quite certain of resulting in the abolition of the too common deficit. For a deficit is common in the college budget. It is usually not large; it is usually, too, made up at once by trustees and friends, but it is common alike in the college and the church. I find only occasional instances in which the deficit is allowed to stand. "It is," one treasurer remarks, "carried over." But such carrying over is simply eating up one's seed-corn, and such devouring will not continue long

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without disaster. Income is spent in two great forms—that of instruction and that of administration. The division of expense between these two departments differs largely in different colleges. In the University of California four-fifths of the income is devoted to instruction, one-fifth to administration. In the Northwestern University, 70 per cent to instruction and 30 to administration. In the University of Michigan, two-thirds goes to instruction, one-third to administration. These figures, taken from reports of college treasurers, may, however, represent different bases. It is a question, for instance, whether the salary of the president, who gives a small amount of instruction, but whose duties are also administrative, should be charged to the account of instruction or of administration. Treasurers also differ as to whether repairs and insurance are included in administration; but these figures are sufficient to show that the large part of the income of each college is devoted to securing instruction.

The salaries paid in the college are usually low. "There are iron mills in this country whose entire laboring force is paid at an average rate quite as high as that of the salaries paid by some of our colleges."[1] The salary of the most highly paid professors in American colleges is about $2,000, and the salary of other professors about $1,500. The average number of members in the faculty of American colleges, taking one hundred and twenty-four colleges as a basis, is sixteen and one-half persons. These figures represent the point of the application of the largest part of the income of college funds.

The increase in the funds of American colleges has been exceedingly rapid within the life-time of the older men now living. In the year 1830 the first printed statement of the finances of Yale College was made. At that time the total productive fund, not including land, amounted to only $30,856.26. There were liabilities standing against the College amounting to $13,000. The net total productive fund of the College was, therefore, only $17,856.26. The total income from funds that year was $2,673.66. In 1831 the receipts from all sources, including tuition, were $19,674.87; the expenses were $20,208.38. In 1832 the receipts increased to eight cents more than $20,000, and the expenses increased to $23,028.87. The income from funds of 1832 was $2,555.86. In 1879 the funds of the academical department had increased to $700,000 and the funds of the theological department to about $300,000, of the Sheffield Scientific School to $165,000, of the Medical to a little over $21,000, and

[1] The Pay of American College Professors, THE FORUM, vol. 16, p. 103.

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the University fund to a little over $230,000. The income from all sources for the year ending June 30, 1876, was over $300,000. In 1890 the entire productive funds of Yale College had increased to an amount double that possessed in 1876, and, since that time, there have been great additions made, also, to its interest-bearing property. Harvard began to come into its wealth when it was far less old than Yale, but its riches in its first two centuries were rather poverty than wealth. The amount of money given to Harvard during the seventeenth century was 6,134 pounds, 16 shillings and 10 pence. The amount of money given to Harvard in the eighteenth century aggregates about 27,000 pounds. In the year 1840 the whole amount of the productive funds of the college was $646,235.17, and the entire income from all sources was $45,535.71. At the present time the report of the treasurer for 1892–93 shows values to the amount of $8,390,543.53; and an income from all sources of $1,301,664.48.

By the side of these statements it is fitting to lay down statements as to the two great English universities. The reports show that for the year ending with December, 1893, the income of the University of Oxford, apart from the colleges, was almost £66,000, and the income of her twenty colleges was £439,606, ranging from £7,192 at Hertford College, to nearly £60,000 at Magdalen College and Christ Church; an average of £21,980 to each college. The income of the University of Cambridge is not stated in the reports made to the Vice-Chancellor, but the income of her seventeen colleges was £295,247, ranging from £4,119 at Magdalene College to £76,523 at Trinity; an average of £17,367 to each college. The income of the wealthier colleges of these universities, drawn from funds, is far in excess of the income of the wealthier American colleges derived from the same source. The income of the less wealthy is about the same as that of the ordinary New England college.[1]

The German university is more of a state institution than the English university. The Government is directly pledged to its support. At least three German universities, Leipsic, Heidelberg, and Greifswald, have property of their own, but the larger part draw their annual revenue from the governmental chest. Professors are paid both from this fund and from the fees of students.

[1] These statements are based on "Abstracts of the Accounts," published in the case of Cambridge in the "University Reporter," and in the case of Oxford by the Clarendon Press; and on compendiums made by Prof. B. A. Hinsdale, of the University of Michigan, and published in the "University Record."

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As one brings this survey to a close, one is tempted to offer some suggestions. It has long been the judgment of the writer that colleges should publish each year, for distribution among their constituents, a complete and detailed statement of their financial condition and relations. Colleges are public institutions; though legally and technically private corporations they essentially belong to the people. They appeal to the people for endowment and also for the privilege of offering instruction. They have no proper right to make an appeal for funds to the people, unless they exhibit to the people the use that they have made of funds already received. It cannot be doubted that such a public statement would tend to awaken public confidence in the financial integrity and ability of the college. The evil influence of occasional lapses is overcome by the generally excellent record of investment. Let the American college take the American people into its confidence, and it will find it much easier to get hold of the American purse.

A second suggestion should be made, possibly, in reference to the method of investment. Among the questions which I have asked of the colleges is this one: "Are funds, given for certain specific purposes, invested by themselves, or are all funds pooled in general investments, the book-keeping showing where specific funds are?" Colleges range themselves on each side of the answer to this question. Many colleges invest amounts, given for specific purposes, by and of themselves; but certain ones do "pool" all moneys, although the book-keeping shows where specific funds are. It certainly would be better to invest funds, given for specific purposes, by themselves; for, in the course of centuries, funds, that are thus put into one common box, might fail of the specific purpose for which they were intended. Such limitations might occasionally result in less income, but they would result also, I think, in a larger degree of confidence in the power of the American college to keep its specific obligations.

CHARLES F. THWING.

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STUDIES OF NOTABLE MEN: MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN is a Londoner by birth, although for a great many years he has been almost altogether identified with Birmingham. He does not seem to have taken much pains about making himself a master of the studies which University College, London, where he was educated, offered to him. Some one said of him lately that, "to put it mildly and inoffensively, he is not a bookworm." Another critic has described him as "one of that class of men to whom literature is Dickens." Mr. Chamberlain has proved that a man may go far and high in English politics without being what would have been called in Addison's days an elegant scholar.

He entered Parliament in 1876, and his fame had gone before him. He had been known as a most successful municipal administrator in Birmingham, where he was one of the partners in a great screw-making business; and indeed Birmingham is even still, I think, the best managed municipality in England. Mr. Chamberlain, however, was known as something more than a successful municipal administrator. He was known as a Radical of the Radicals. He was understood to be a man ready to go the farthest that could be gone with a Radical programme. The Tories detested him, and he seemed to detest them. They talked about him as if he were ardent to overturn the throne and to strew the Thames, as some democratic orator had said, with the wrecks of the painted Chamber—the debating Chamber of the House of Lords. They talked of him as if he were a Birmingham Jack Cade, prepared with his fellows to march on London and smash things generally. A fierce and very unjustifiable, not to say unmannerly, attack which he made on Disraeli served only to deepen the impression. If I remember rightly, an apology was made for the attack, and I mention it here only as one of the reasons why the Tories especially detested Mr. Chamberlain.

I well remember Mr. Chamberlain's first speech in the House of Commons and the feeling of surprise created alike by the speech and by the man among those to whom he was a stranger. The expecta-

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tion of the Tory squires was that they were to see a sort of Birmingham Orson—"a wild man," as Disraeli said of another English Radical of that time—and that they were to hear the "barbaric yawp" of a demagogue Boanerges. What did they see? They saw instead an elegantly dressed, dapper, slender man with clean-shaven face, with an eye-glass fixed dandyishly in his eye and a gorgeous gardenia in his buttonhole. "Why, it's a ladies' doctor," one Tory murmured, and the saying passed down the benches. What did they hear? They heard a clear monotone voice, a quietly penetrating voice, exactly, indeed, the voice for a physician popular among women. It was a voice that bade alarm be still and asked prejudice to listen to soothing reason. Sensible men, especially if they had read anything of history or romance, ought to have known that Mr. Chamberlain would thus belie expectation.

The House soon found out that it had got to do with a strong and audacious man. Mr. Chamberlain continued for a long time to be a Radical of the Radicals. He was a close friend and ally of Mr. John Morley—Mr. Morley was not then in Parliament—and he allied himself with Sir Charles Dilke inside the House. Sir Charles Dilke was then regarded as the type of the most extreme democrat—I mean, of course, in purely constitutional politics. I do not know that Sir Charles Dilke has changed his opinions much since those days, although he has outwardly conformed himself to monarchical institutions. But Mr. Chamberlain went even farther than this, as it seemed to most people then. He became an ally of Mr. Parnell. I entered the House of Commons not very long after Mr. Chamberlain's introduction there, and I had close opportunities of watching his political career. I was a great admirer of him at that time, and for a long time after. He professed himself, both in public and in private, to be in strong sympathy with Mr. Parnell's political methods. He said as much in a debate in the House of Commons and added that he was sorry he had not said so before. He declared himself in full sympathy with the policy which would do justice to Ireland, although he did not pledge himself to the principle of Home Rule quite so unreservedly as did Sir Charles Dilke. Both men were in constant counsel and coöperation with the leaders of the Irish Home Rule party. At this time, be it observed, Irish obstruction was directed against the Tory Government, and Mr. Chamberlain detested the Tories and was detested by them. Many days have passed since those days.

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In the spring of 1880 the sitting Parliament came to an end. The Liberals came back to power. They came in with a conquering majority. It was expected by every one that Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Chamberlain would be members of the new administration. They had formed meanwhile in private an offensive and defensive alliance. They agreed that if both were not offered places in the new administration neither was to accept office. At that time Sir Charles Dilke stood far in the front of Mr. Chamberlain. Both were men of fortune, but Dilke was much the better educated man, and he had an immense knowledge of all subjects connected with our foreign policy. He had been a great traveller, and had travelled mainly for the study of our foreign policy and our colonial life. He had studied men as well as countries. He had gone everywhere and known everybody who was worth knowing. Therefore when Dilke went into this alliance with Chamberlain everybody assumed that he had brought the bigger part of the capital, if I may put it that way, into the partnership. He acted magnanimously. There could not be found two places in the Cabinet for the partners—the Cabinet is of course the inner and governing body of the administration—and Dilke consented to accept an outside place and to allow the seat in the Cabinet to be given to Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain, therefore, was lifted at one push into a place which had never been occupied by Burke or by Macaulay. Sir Charles Dilke was appointed Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Chamberlain became President of the Board of Trade with, as I have said, a seat in the Cabinet. Both men stuck for a while to their extreme Radical politics—Dilke never abandoned them. Chamberlain distinguished himself every now and then as the promulgator of some "unauthorized programme," in which he set out a series of proposals far in advance of anything Mr. Gladstone then thought it wise to offer to the country. Mr. Chamberlain continued to proclaim a strong sympathy with the Irish Nationalist party and with Irish demands for justice. He was not only willing but even anxious to be made Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—in other words the Secretary of State for Ireland. The Irish Nationalist members took him fully into their confidence. We consulted him on all occasions. A vacancy took place in the office of Chief Secretary, consequent upon the sudden resignation of the late Mr. W. E. Forster, and Mr. Chamberlain thought he had every reason to believe that the position would be offered to him. He did what I think was a prudent and a

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straightforward thing, under the conditions. He sent for a number of the most advanced Irish Nationalist members and he told us that he desired our advice as to the course he should take in the event, which he then deemed certain, of his being invited to assume the position of Chief Secretary for Ireland. I mention the fact only to show what confidence we then had in him, and what confidence he then professed to have in us—in us whom since that time he has so unsparingly denounced. He knew then as well as we did ourselves that our support of him must depend upon his fidelity to the principles which he and we had together proclaimed with regard to Irish nationality and the claim for Home Rule.

I could add a great many details of our conversation, but it is not necessary. I do not know to this day why Mr. Chamberlain did not receive the appointment. He told us it was certain to be offered to him. All my personal and private information had given me the conviction that it would be offered to him. It never was offered to him. The place was given to Lord Frederick Cavendish. We all know what happened. Lord Frederick Cavendish, one of the truest-hearted and most genial men that ever lived, one who was especially friendly to the Irish National members and who was liked by all of them, was murdered in the Phœnix Park in Dublin.

The murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish left the Irish Office vacant once again. Mr. Chamberlain was still willing to accept it. "Nothing that had happened," he said with significant firmness, could prevent him from undertaking the task—if it were offered to him. Sir Charles Dilke said much the same thing. Either would have accepted the place, but now as before they both alike thought that Mr. Chamberlain was the more hopeful of success, and therefore the better man. The place was not offered to either of them. It was offered to and accepted by Sir George Trevelyan, as he now is—one of the most highly cultured men and most brilliant writers in England—a man who virtually gave up literature for politics and thereby deprived the world of some really great and complete historical work. Mr. Chamberlain pottered over some plan of local government for Ireland —a plan that might have done well enough if it were set in the framework of a Home Rule system, but when offered as something complete in itself was not worth any serious consideration. Mr. Chamberlain was vexed at the cold reception which the Irish members gave to his proposal of compromise. A certain chilliness began. The Irish members were becoming distrustful of the Liberal party as a whole.

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The Liberal government resigned in 1885, and the Tories came back to office. But the general elections followed almost immediately, and the Liberals came in again with a strong majority. In the mean time it began to be whispered about, then broadly rumored, then positively asserted, that Mr. Gladstone had become a convert to the principle of Home Rule for Ireland and that he was actually preparing a scheme. The rumor was perfectly true. Mr. Gladstone had made up his mind to stake his administration on the success of a measure to give self-government to the Irish people. I must say that the news did not greatly surprise me. The final conversion, the complete conversion, may have been sudden. Most conversions work themselves out in that way. But Mr. Gladstone's mind had long been tending in the direction of Home Rule. Five years before that time I had good reason to know that Mr. Gladstone particularly wanted to be satisfied on two questions: (1) Was the great majority of the Irish people really desirous of Home Rule? (2) Would it be possible to frame a measure of Home Rule which, while satisfying the desires of Ireland, should at the same time maintain the unity of the three kingdoms? I had no doubt then that whenever Mr. Gladstone should obtain satisfactory assurance on these questions he would proclaim himself in favor of Home Rule. But did Mr. Gladstone, before the construction of his new government, consult fully with all his colleagues and make known to them his intentions with regard to Home Rule? Did he, for example, make them fully known to Mr. Chamberlain? When he offered Mr. Chamberlain the position of President of the Local Government Board, was that the office which Mr. Chamberlain had wished to take, or was Mr. Chamberlain anxious for a different place? These are questions to which many people would be very glad to have an answer. Such an answer might perhaps throw some light on the significance of the events that soon followed. For Mr. Chamberlain refused to accept the main principles of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule scheme and resigned his place in the administration. Then he renounced Home Rule altogether and became, to all intents and purposes, what he has since continued to be, a Tory of the Tories—an opponent of every liberal and progressive measure in the political life of England.

I remember no such extraordinary change in political conduct in the England of my time. Mr. Chamberlain is patronized, of course, by the Tories, and by former Liberals, like the Duke of Devonshire, who have renounced the very creed and sacraments of Liberalism. I

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dare say he is very happy. All his old opinions he has revised and rejected. He has spoken more than once in public of the policy he used to support "in my Radical days." He made his position as a Radical. He was a Radical first—and anything else afterward. No one supposes that a man cannot honestly and sincerely become enlightened as to the possible errors of Radicalism and find peace of mind and heart in throwing over "the masses" and becoming a votary of "the classes." I dare not therefore venture to impeach the integrity of Mr. Chamberlain's sudden and complete change of opinions. He may have had some instantaneous internal revelation. But it is, perhaps, to be remarked that when Saul of Tarsus suddenly came round to new opinions, he did not thereby secure any warm and patronizing welcome among "the classes" of that ancient day. I do not say a man may not be quite sincere in a sudden conversion merely because, while forfeiting the confidence of the Liberals, and the democrats, and the working-men, he obtains at the same moment the favor, and the welcome, and the patronage of the dukes and duchesses.

Anyhow such is the present stage of Mr. Chamberlain's career. I draw a line of distinction between his action and that of the Duke of Devonshire—Lord Hartington as he once was—and whom, on a memorable occasion, Mr. Chamberlain stigmatized in the House of Commons as "the late leader of the Liberal party," because Lord Hartington shrank from going all the way with Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke and others of the more extreme Radicals. Lord Hartington never had anything of the Radical in him. His order, his bringing-up, his temperament, his mind, such as it was, would have prevented him from ever being a Radical. When he renounced the Liberal party no one could possibly suggest that he had any personal object to gain by his renunciation. He did not want to be taken up by the dukes and duchesses. He was born among the dukes; he belonged to one of the greatest of their dukedoms. Nothing on earth could deprive him of the position he held as heir to the Duke of Devonshire; he is now Duke of Devonshire himself. He had simply been trying to hold on to Mr. Gladstone as long as he could, out of a sort of feeling of loyalty and good-fellowship—but the parting must have come sooner or later.

But the case of Mr. Chamberlain, as I have shown, is somewhat different. Mr. Chamberlain's change of front and change of opinions were something pantomimic in their swiftness, and their completeness, and their surprise. The Duke of Devonshire, after his separa-

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tion from Mr. Gladstone, never said a disparaging, at all events never said an offensive, word of his former leader. Mr. Chamberlain seemed as if he never could say bitter and offensive things enough about Mr. Gladstone to gratify the rancor of his soul. Mr. Chamberlain is of course an infinitely cleverer man than the Duke of Devonshire. The Duke of Devonshire had immense wealth and exalted rank to push him on in politics. Mr. Chamberlain had nothing to recommend him but his political cleverness and a sufficient fortune. But for myself I look at the rather stolid Duke of Devonshire with a kind of respect which I am wholly unable to give to Mr. Chamberlain. If, however, Radicals and Irish Nationalists and such like do not admire Mr. Chamberlain or trust in him any more, he has his consolations. "But oh! Mr. Osborne," said Becky Sharp, "what a difference eighteen months' experience makes—eighteen months spent—pardon me for saying it—with English gentlemen!"

It will be interesting to watch Mr. Chamberlain's further career in politics. He has ambition, and he has undoubted capacity and strong self-will. He is unquestionably one of the best debaters in the House of Commons. There are, according to my estimate, five great debaters in the House of Commons. These are Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Sexton. Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Sexton, and perhaps Mr. Asquith may claim to be orators as well. Mr. Chamberlain is certainly not an orator. There is not a gleam of imagination in him, or of fancy, or pathos, or genuine passion. No heart is ever warmed by his frigid, cutting eloquence. No eyes are ever moistened by any appeal from him. To all the artistic side of life he is color-blind. He has not in him the capacity for one flash of genuine humor. He can be sarcastic, or perhaps rather spiteful than sarcastic; there is a sort of spinster-like shrillness in him when he gets out of temper and loses the suavity of the ladies' doctor. But he is a keen shrewd debater, and he has a singularly clear intonation. Not a word that he says is lost upon the House. His voice is not musical; it is sibillant and monotonous, but it reaches every ear. He has a quick eye to detect a flaw in the argument of any adversary. He is splendidly self-opinionated and would not be in the least afraid to measure himself against Demosthenes if it were possible that that orator could come in his way, and that either could understand one word of the other's language. I am sure that Mr. Chamberlain must admire himself immensely, and this peculiarity is almost always an advan-

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tage to a second-class public man. It gives him a confidence in himself which almost supplies the place of genius. It is at all events like the Dutch courage which in some half-desperate conditions does almost as well as a genuine heroism. Mr. Chamberlain's manner is quiet and completely self-controlled, even when he more or less deliberately gives way to a burst of splenetic temper. His very composure stands him in good stead, for it seems to many listeners to suggest that he possesses an immense amount of what the actors call "reserved force"—which, so far as I can see, he does not possess. I am indeed pretty well convinced that all the goods are in the shop-window—if I may use such a metaphor of such a man. He always reminds me of a clever, expert, but not quite first-class fencer, about the button on whose foil you are always anxious to be quite certain. Already in this session he has undergone a crushing defeat at the hands of Mr. Asquith. It was in the debate on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, and it was one of those occasions when friends and foes alike are compelled to admit the genuineness and completeness of the victory. Mr. Asquith, like Mr. Chamberlain, may be called one of the light-weights in debate. There is something not dissimilar in the accents and the clear intonations of the two men. But Mr. Asquith's voice is stronger and can swell to notes of generous indignation; and Mr. Asquith is by far the better educated man. On the recent occasion, that of the "famous victory" by Mr. Asquith, Mr. Chamberlain had undoubtedly by a marvellous lapse of memory given the battle to the hands of his enemy.

Mr. Chamberlain has boxed the political compass pretty completely. He used to be the most uncompromising opponent of the House of Lords. Of late, since he has become the henchman of the Duke of Devonshire, he is very angry with any one who presumes to question the patriotism and the wisdom of the hereditary chamber. Of course a man has a right to change his opinions. The influence of a duke has naturally a good deal to do with many a change of opinions in England. But wind-changing politicians, like another class of persons, ought to have good memories. Mr. Chamberlain has a capital memory for the inconsistencies of other men, but he seems to have a poor recollection of his own. He began his speech by an angry demand to know what was the excuse for the Liberal denunciation of the House of Lords, and what was the meaning of the vile phrase, now so common in the mouths of Liberal demagogues, about "filling the cup"—about giving the House of Lords time to fill

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the cup of their iniquities. Alas! Mr. Asquith remembered Mr. Chamberlain's past career and past saying better than Mr. Chamberlain did himself, and he was able to prove out of Mr. Chamberlain's own speeches that Mr. Chamberlain was himself the author of the phrase about filling the cup, and that he had used it years ago exactly as his imitators are using it to-day. The House was convulsed with delight. Even the Tories were for the most part well pleased. The Tories make good use of Mr. Chamberlain, but they do not all quite admire him. His adoration of rank is perhaps a little "wanting in finish," as Mr. Disraeli once said of Lord Salisbury's satire. Most of the Tories see this and quietly smile at it.

After his passing over to the camp of the Tories Mr. Chamberlain boasted in a public speech of the satisfaction which it gave him to be in the society of English gentlemen. Some malign critic forthwith described him as the Becky Sharp of English political life. The phrase stuck, and Mr. Chamberlain was naturally displeased. The Tories of the stately old school see through all this sort of thing, and therefore were not bitterly grieved when Mr. Asquith scored such a victory over Mr. Chamberlain. I should doubt whether on the whole he is of great value to them as an ally. If they come back soon to power he will expect a very high place in the cabinet, and if he is not quite satisfied with what he gets he will be sure to reconsider the situation. Except for his own immediate friends and faithful personal followers I do not suppose that anybody puts absolute trust in him.

Indeed it would be hard for any outsider who has watched Mr. Chamberlain's career to put much trust in him. More than once he has proved that he is not the sort of man to go tiger-hunting with—to adopt a phrase applied by John Bright years ago to a very different politician long since dead. If two men go out tiger-hunting, and the tiger turns on one of them suddenly and grips him, and the other stands by his comrade and makes dexterous use of his rifle, the chances are that both will get safely out of the danger. But if the one man runs away it is all over with the other. Therefore it is very important when a man is choosing a comrade for a tiger-hunt that he shall choose one who is certain to stand by him at some moment of extreme danger. Now Mr. Chamberlain is not a man to go tiger-hunting with. More than once he has sought his own safety in a moment of political danger and has made off and left his comrade in the lurch.

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I have spoken of Mr. Chamberlain's remarkable capacity as a parliamentary debater. But it is not to his power of debate, great as that undoubtedly is, that Mr. Chamberlain owes his special influence in English politics. He is made by nature, by inclination, and by training to be a first-class "boss"—to adopt an expression familiar in American politics. He is not a statesman; he is not an orator; he is a "boss," and a "boss" of the first magnitude. He has practised the art with great success in the municipality of Birmingham, and he has shown great skill in transferring the practice to the floor and the lobbies of the House of Commons. He has surrounded himself with friends and "led-captains," as they used to be called in the days of the Restoration, and with dependants and hangers-on of all kinds. At one time he had contrived to get quite a little family body-guard of his own into the House of Commons. I should think he would probably be a very good friend to his friend, so long as the friend did not disobey orders and did not presume to set up for himself. But, however that may be, he does seem to have a considerable gathering of supporters who are devoted to him, who cheer him when he speaks, and uproariously applaud all his sarcasms and cry down all his political opponents. I am not speaking now of the little group of really distinguished men who happen to agree with him on the question of Home Rule, and who therefore work with him.

Mr. Chamberlain has a decided gift for what I may call "working things," and for finding the men who will help him to work them. At one time he undoubtedly seemed to us here to be emphatically a coming man. Why did he not come? Was it because at one particular crisis he was too much in a hurry to come and so tripped up and lost his balance? Is he to come even yet? Many think that he has missed his chance; but I at least am not inclined to be too dogmatic on that question. He is still a comparatively young man, as age is reckoned now in English politics; he is not embarrassed by modesty or hemmed in by scruples. Perhaps if he does not come it will be only his own fault. There can hardly be a worse stroke of ill-luck in English political life—or I dare say in any other political life—than for an aspiring man to get the repute of being "too clever by half." I think that is just Mr. Chamberlain's condition. He has the repute of being too clever by half. This may, some day, be his political epitaph.

JUSTIN M'CARTHY.

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ARE WE DEGENERATING?

THE popular interest aroused by Dr. Nordau's work on "Degeneration"[1] has apparently led many to think that this interesting condition is one which that author has in a measure discovered, as well as authoritatively expounded. As a matter of fact, the term "degeneration" was introduced into medical science, and its characteristics first defined, by Dr. B. A. Morel, in 1857.[2] Since that time the subject has been most industriously studied by many investigators. Morel himself considered a "degenerate" to be "a morbid deviation from the primitive type." He asserted the condition to be a progressive one, showing itself in a tendency to insanity and the severe forms of nervous disease, and ending with succeeding generations in idiocy, and sterility, and consequent extinction of the family. With Morel the conception of degeneracy was a narrow one. He describes under it the hereditary insanities, cretinism, idiocy, and similar striking degrees of deviation from the type.

The term was adopted by German as well as French writers, and used in describing the causes and defining the types of insanity. It was soon seen that most of those who suffer from the "grand neuroses," or severe types of nervous disease, had traits in common with the degenerate of insane tendency and with those possessing certain forms of mental weakness. The names of Legrain, Magnan, Féré, Charcot, are associated with this wider use of the term. In Italy Lombroso and his pupils have brought out the fact that the habitual criminal belongs to this same type, showing it in his bodily marks and habits, as well as in many of his mental traits. Thus it gradually came to be an accepted fact in science that the insane, including those peculiar half-sane people known as *paranoiacs*, the inebriates and dipsomaniacs, the victims of grand hysteria and other severe and incurable neuroses, and the habitual criminal, all had something in common, in that they had the traits of the degenerate.

Various books had meantime appeared in which the authors

[1] "Degeneration," by Max Nordau, D. Appleton & Co.

[2] *Traité des Dégénérescences physiques, intellectuelles et morales de l'Espèce humaine, et des Causes qui produisent ces Variétés maladives.*

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tried to show that genius was a morbid product allied to insanity. None of these has really been recognized as a scientific work, demonstrating its thesis by careful evidence and sound reasoning; nor can even Lombroso's work on this subject be considered worthy of very serious criticism.

Dr. Nordau has entered a somewhat new field in that he has tried to show that the mental traits which characterize degeneration are present in some of the notable artists and writers of the present generation. In his argument he shows a really sound knowledge of the scientific side of the question, and he should receive due credit for it. His explanations of the psychology of degeneration accord in the main with the teachings of modern investigators, and he makes few errors, so far as I am able to judge, in his strictly scientific discussions. He is evidently well-read and well-grounded in the literature of mental disorders. His work is, therefore, one that cannot be set aside, as Mr. Howells attempts to do, with a few contemptuous paragraphs; it is not simply hysterical and extravagant; for he is not exploiting any novel theory or hasty generalization. Literary and artistic gentlemen, therefore, who find their idols shattered and perhaps themselves feel some self-concern, need not think to extinguish Dr. Nordau's book by saying it is mere phrasing and nonsense. They betray a lagging and fatuous ignorance of the progress of human thought. Nor does it alter the fact at all to say that by his own rules Dr. Nordau is himself degenerate, "a Semitic reactionary doctrinaire," and "a pessimistic graphomaniac," etc., etc. There is such a thing as degeneration, and the question of who has it must be decided on the evidence and not by objurgation.

The first thing, I take it, to make clear to the reader's mind, is: What is degeneration? and at the risk of being technical and tedious I must try and answer this question at some length.[1]

As has already been said, degeneration is defined as a variation from the average type of the family or race, this variation containing with it a tendency to sterility and extinction of the family. Now, the average or normal type is necessarily a healthy one, otherwise the family and race would die out because, as physiology has shown, only healthy individuals can long propagate the race. Hence Morel's definition of degeneration very properly says that it is "a diseased variation from the primitive type," but this modification is

[1] Those who would learn more about the condition should read Ch. Féré's "*La Famille Neuropathique,*" and Dallemagne's "*Les Dégénérés.*"

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very necessary, since most variations partake of abnormality. Dr. Nordau and other writers speak of degenerates as diseased persons. I would, however, use the milder word *disordered*, or abnormal. In disease there is, speaking generally, a vicious something added to the system, which poisons and perverts it, but in a "disorder" there may be only a disarrangement or disproportion of parts. The bricks and beams of the structure are sound, but they are not put together in their proper relation, and instability results. In degenerates there is always some of this disorder or abnormality. Degenerates vary in degree. The lowest forms include idiocy and imbecility; they are called the *débiles*. The next higher group form the *inferior* degenerates, who are simply weak-minded. The highest group are the *superior* or *intelligent degenerates*, who form the class about which Dr. Nordau writes. Lombroso calls certain of them *mattoids*. The mental peculiarities of these persons have been elaborately characterized by Dr. Nordau, and he has given so many symptoms that the reader, I presume, is inclined to say: "Everybody who amounts to anything is a degenerate, and the book simply proves that disease is a good thing and every one ought to have a little of it." I do not shrink from this logical conclusion if the premises warrant it, but Dr. Nordau has not put the matter in quite a fair light. He shows the lack of a certain sense of proportion in his description of the symptoms of degeneration and he does not sufficiently emphasize the vital points. The *higher degenerates*, in order to be strictly classed as such, must possess seriously abnormal qualities, which are not found in all or in most of the great men of the world. Many have a touch of degeneracy without being really degenerates, just as a person may have a rheumatic tendency without ever being crippled by a frank attack of rheumatism.

The signs by which the degenerates are recognized are called stigmata, and they are of three kinds: viz., the physical or bodily, the physiological, and the mental stigmata. An enormous amount of interest has been excited, chiefly through the work of Lombroso, about the investigation of bodily stigmata. The matter is being overdone, like many good things, but there is fundamental truth in the significance of the bodily anomalies supposed to characterize the degenerate. They consist of peculiarities in the development of the bony system, the shape of the head, the conformation of the ears, the palate, the hands, the toes, and other parts of the body.

The degenerate has also some peculiarities of bodily function,

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such as weakness of the circulation, lack of power to endure fatigue, unusual reaction to stimulants, sterility and allied weaknesses. These form the physiological stigmata. Finally, and most important, he must have mental peculiarities which are called the psychical stigmata. The two most characteristic are an extreme emotionalism and impulsiveness, which go together, and a tendency to *obsessions*, by which is meant the sudden irresistible forcing and fixing in the mind of ideas that dominate and distress or exalt the individual, despite their being without sound basis. An obsession is an irresistible and fixed idea, though, perhaps, all fixed ideas are not obsessions,—a concession I make out of deference to certain eminent novelists with theories, and honest advocates of free-silver, of anti-vivisection, and of mind-healing, etc.

Other mental characteristics are an intense egotism and selfishness. The degenerate is self-centred rather than deliberately selfish. In the horizon of his consciousness he always sees his own figure conspicuously projected. In some cases, a morbid eroticism, and in all cases defects in moral sensibility are noticeable in those who have morbidly deviated from the type. Underlying all is an instability of mind, a lack of mental equilibrium. The intelligent degenerate, and it is he whom I am just now describing, is one who makes the judicious grieve; and when the judicious agree in grieving, they have pretty well fixed the diagnosis. Associated with all degeneracy, again, is the inherent weakness of reproduction of the species. The children of the degenerate, if any exist, are more degenerate and the family finally dies out. No pair of degenerates can surround themselves with healthy children and grandchildren. Here is another test which may comfort the degenerate egotism of our later years.

I have described, so far as the mental symptoms go, only those that must be found in the higher class of degenerates to whom Dr. Nordau addresses his graphomania. Insanity, criminality, inebriety, imbecility are the expressions of lower types. Many of the individuals of this higher type are known to the world as "cranks"; others are characterized by economists as "anti-social"; and a large number is looked upon from the religious standpoint as plain bad men. And in this connection it may be noted that Dr. Nordau has tried to show that a large number of the persons whom our Puritan forefathers would have called wicked, are, in fact, diseased. Such is the state of civilization now that if John Knox were living and had thundered

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against the librettos of Wagner, the novels of Gautier and Zola, the poems of Baudelaire, the plays of Ibsen, and the æsthetics of Kilanyi, we should smile at his simple Christian Philistinism, but when Dr. Nordau directs the choicest stores of a rich and ripened vocabulary in denouncing them, we are seriously interested. It is in his practical application of the facts of degeneration to the artist world that Dr. Nordau has been most criticised.

In many instances Dr. Nordau has undoubtedly made mistakes of a most silly character. He now often drops his scientific method and becomes most interestingly abnormal. In taking a certain person, such as Wagner, for example, and trying to make a diagnosis of degeneracy in the case, a careful alienist would feel obliged to discover in his person, his mode of life, and his work the essential stigmata of the disease. Did the great musician show in any abnormal degree the violent emotionalism, the impulsive acts, the obsession, the egotism, the eroticism, the moral insensibility and instability which characterize the disease? Or did he show the more minor symptoms, such as mysticism, a tendency to inane revery, a mania for writing and iteration of ideas, a sadness of spirit and constant searching after cause—things which, of themselves, have little significance? Were his person and his life characterized by the stigmata of degeneracy? I do not pretend to decide, but I should consider Dr. Nordau's characterization of Wagner as "the last mushroom on the dunghill of romanticism" to be at least severe and hardly warranted by the facts collected. Every one will agree that a mistake in diagnosis is made in putting the ban upon Ruskin, the harmless and interesting pre-Raphaelites, and certain others whom the artistic world admires. I doubt if Ibsen is "a malignantly anti-social simpleton," for the great mass of people are not affected by him, find no message in his work, and tolerate his gloom for the sake of his fine dramatic art. Dr. Nordau lacks the saving grace of humor, with which no one can be really insane, and he takes some of the queer turns of the artistic nature too seriously.

But while Dr. Nordau makes his mistakes, he achieves also splendid successes, and I know nothing finer, more refreshing, more scientifically accurate or helpfully ethical than his portrayal of the essential disease and depravity underlying the art of the Parnassians, the decadents and æsthetes, and certain types of realists. There are among them art and poetry, but it is the stuff that comes from nature's slums; it is the stenching secretion of the diseased growth; it

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is nature, to be sure, for death and disease are natural; but it has nothing in common with healthful life and the effectiveness of the race. And it is here that Dr. Nordau's book possesses its essential value. It teaches us to discriminate in our search for art and æsthetic impressions. The art-work of the degenerate may have value, but it is often tainted, and we must accept it critically, not sympathetically. Furthermore, we can be very sure that the art ideas of the degenerate are usually tinged with folly; they really do not tell us anything new, or move us forward toward perfection. Some critics cry impatiently, that they do not care for the man if only his work be beautiful; but the things cannot be entirely dissociated. If the man is really a form of decay, his art will show it in time; like the putrid fish, it may shine but it smells.

There has grown up a curious feeling that art is sacred; the formula "art for art's sake" is supposed to answer all objectors; and whoever denies the essential value of a thing that is agreed to be "beautiful" is a Philistine, or simply stupid. It requires much personal and civic courage to suppress a play or a "living-picture" if the critics assert that it has æsthetic value. This, I submit, is not what modern ethics teaches. Art is not an end; it should only color our life, not chisel its form (I believe I am quoting from Bulwer); and the really beautiful may be dangerous, devilish, and nasty. So I say again that those who protest against vileness should not be silenced because a thing is really beautiful; if the beauty does not promote the efficiency of the race, it has no justification for its being.

There can be no question that many of the pseudo-geniuses in art and literature, such for example as Oscar Wilde, are degenerates. Whether genius is an evidence of degeneration seems to me a matter not very difficult to decide. Most men of genius, especially on the artistic side, have shown marked signs of degeneration; they, technially speaking, have a degree of degeneration, but they are not true degenerates. In particular their genius in itself is not a morbid thing or stigma: to say this would be a manifest absurdity. The true degenerate is never a real genius, but a pseudo-genius, or, as Lombroso calls him, a *mattoid*. It is this kind of person, the art and literary and political and social *mattoid*, that society should scrutinize and beware of.

A final question now arises: Are we degenerating and is the race just now the victim of a social disease? I admit at once that I do not know. With all respect, I doubt if Dr. Nordau knows. I

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confess myself also at a disadvantage with respect to Mr. Howells, who, by some instinctive penetration or by the flare of some sudden demographic illumination, has been able to read the secret and tells us that humanity was never more healthy or sane.

It is customary to say that we are growing more nervous and neurotic, and the oft-quoted figures showing increase of crime, suicide, idiocy, and insanity, appear to justify this view. As a matter of fact, however, these figures are constantly changing and differ in different countries. Insanity has not increased in this country in the last ten years, according to the 11th census; neither has idiocy—but the census is regarded with some suspicion. In 1880, the number of insane per million was 1,883, the number of idiotic 1,853; in 1890, the number of insane per million was 1,697, the number of idiotic 1,526. In Great Britain there has been no relative increase, except in persons over the age of forty. Recent statistics published in the "Lancet" (London) show also that the consumption of alcohol and tobacco in England and Wales per head has been slowly decreasing in the last four years. One hundred and fifty years ago, Dr. George Cheyne, of London, wrote a very popular and widely circulated treatise on "the English malady," a name which he confesses was justly given by foreigners to nervous distempers, vapors, spleen, and lowness of the spirits; and nervous disorders at that time were, he says, computed to make up almost one-third of the complaints of the people of condition in England. He says in his preface:

> "The title I have chosen for this treatise is a reproach uniformly thrown on this island by foreigners and all our neighbors on the Continent, by whom nervous distempers, spleen, vapors, and lowness of spirits are in derision called the English malady, and I wish there were not good grounds for this reflection.
>
> "The moisture of our air, the variability of our weather, the rankness and fertility of our soil, the richness and heaviness of our food, the wealth and abundance of our people, the inactivity and sedentary occupations of the better sort, the humor of living in great, populous, and consequently unhealthy towns, have brought forth a class and set of distempers with grievous and frightful symptoms scarce known to our ancestors and never arising to such fatal heights or affecting such numbers in any other known nation, these nervous distempers being computed to make up almost one-third of the complaints of the people of condition in England."

On the other hand, Dr. Haycraft, in his very careful work on "Darwinism and Race Progress," sees incont stable evidence of an increase in degeneracy, and he gives figures in support of his view, which I respectfully refer to optimistic critics. But he attributes it mainly to sanitation and the prevention of the acute infectious

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fevers and phthisis, by which a great many persons of weak constitution grow up and become the parents of invalid families. Our degeneration, according to Haycraft, is due to our altruism, not to our vices.

On the whole, I venture the opinion that the number of the invalid and degenerate is slightly on the increase, but I see nothing in it necessarily alarming; for while it may increase still more, it does not seem beyond the bounds of future measures of control.

CHARLES L. DANA.

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THE FUTURE OF THE GREAT ARID WEST.

ABOUT one-third of our national area, excluding Alaska, is too arid for cultivation except where water can be put upon the soil by artificial means. General Sherman's danger line of the hundredth meridian defines pretty closely the western limit of safe farming by rainfall. When he gave it as his opinion, perhaps twenty years ago, that farmers could not prudently go beyond that meridian and trust to the clouds for moisture, his idea was strenuously combated by railroad-builders and by all sorts of western boomers; but time has demonstrated that the old soldier, who knew the Far West thoroughly and was a man of keen observation and good judgment, was not far out of the way. Thousands of settlers who have gone beyond that line, have found out to their sorrow and cost that it is folly to contend against climate with no weapon but faith.

For practical purposes, in defining the extent of the arid area on a map, we may place its western boundary at the Sierra Nevada mountains in California, and the prolongation of that range in Oregon and Washington known as the Cascades. The only considerable territory within this area which is exempt from the general climatic law of deficient moisture is a crescent-shaped belt lying mainly in eastern Washington, but lapping over a little into Idaho and Oregon, which, by reason of the proximity of mountain ranges, receives local rains from the Pacific winds that have not been wholly robbed of moisture. This favored district is more than compensated for, however, in making up our total of arid area, by a large part of southern California lying west of the Sierras, which is a desert except where irrigation has converted narrow strips of valleys into orange-groves and vineyards. Now let us turn eastward to the hither boundary of these vast mid-continental arid spaces. This boundary cannot be sharply drawn. There is no mountain wall to cut off the rain-bearing winds. The country is an enormous plain, beginning far up in the British possessions and reaching to the Gulf of Mexico. The rainfall decreases steadily as you go west across this plain, but no stakes can be set to

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warn the settler that thus far shall he go and no farther. Between the distinctively arid country and the country where there is unques-

MAP OF THE ARID REGION OF THE UNITED STATES.

In all the country shown on the map that is not shaded the rain-fall is insufficient for farming without irrigation.

tionably sufficiently rainfall for successful agricultural operations year after year, there is a belt of debatable ground varying from one

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hundred to two hundred miles in width. The best term for this belt is sub-arid. It extends through the two Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, and Texas. Some of the counties in Kansas lying within this belt have been populated and depopulated, in a measure, two or three times. One or two years of exceptional rainfall bring in a fresh throng of settlers, to take the place of others who have given up the struggle; they in turn are impoverished by the dry years that are sure to follow, and abandon their farms. Only people who know how to combine stock-raising with grain-growing on a moderate scale are successful in this doubtful territory. All through this belt are abandoned farmhouses, fields grown up with weeds, and towns which have shrunk to nothing.

The sub-arid belt is by no means an inhospitable region in its appearance. It is well-grassed, its surface is diversified by low ranges of hills and isolated buttes, and cottonwoods grow along the margins of the streams. Crops make a good start in the spring, but if the showers do not come in June and July, or if the dreaded hot winds blow, the wheat fails to mature its berry, and the tassels of the corn furnish no pollen to develop the ears. The sub-arid belt is just now at its lowest ebb of discouragement, but it is by no means supporting its possible maximum of population. Its pasturage is not nearly all used for making beef and mutton. In time it will attract or develop a class of settlers who will take small risks on agriculture, cultivating a few fields in a variety of crops so that if one fails another may yield something, and placing their chief reliance on flocks and herds.

There was once a widespread delusion in the sub-arid belt—which received, too, very general credence in the older settled portions of the West—that rainfall follows the plough; that the cultivation of the soil, by holding a considerable part of the precipitation of moisture in the ground, which would otherwise run off in the streams, increased the evaporation and so produced clouds which returned in showers: in other words, that the water from the heavens could be used over and over again. The whole notion is a fallacy, born of the tendency of people to deceive themselves in their own apparent interest, and of the efforts of the railway companies to induce settlers to occupy the vacant lands along their roads. The records of the numerous military posts in the West show that nowhere has there been any appreciable increase of precipitation during any period of ten years as compared with any previous decade. These military observations of meteorology go back in unbroken continuity at some

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of the older posts for a period of thirty or forty years. Everywhere they show temporary variations of climate, but permanent stability. The late General Hazen, while stationed at Fort Buford on the Upper Missouri, about twenty years ago, wrote a newspaper article on the arid region which was widely assailed as untruthful. He made preparations to irrigate a garden; but an extraordinary amount of rain fell that summer, and his pump and ditches were unnecessary; whereupon everybody laughed at him as a pessimist. Nobody attempts to make a garden now at Fort Buford without irrigation, and every statement made in that famous article has turned out to be accurate.

Let us now go beyond the sub-arid belt, which has lured many industrious people to their ruin, and enter into the vast domain of unquestioned aridity. We may divide this domain into four classes of territory, having reference to the character and utility of the country. First there are the great grass plains, covered for the most part with bunch-grass or grama, spangled with wild sunflowers, larkspurs, and lupines, traversed by streams which head in the many ranges and spurs of the Rocky Mountain system, swept by bitter winds in winter, basking in the hot sunshine of a long and almost rainless summer—the home of the range-cattle and sheep industries. The soil is fertile, but nowhere is there rainfall enough for tillage. Herds of cattle roam at will the year round, seeking shelter during severe storms in *coulées* and ravines and in the timber that grows along the streams. The country is divided into "round-up" districts, and the cattle-owners assemble with their cowboys twice a year and scour the ranges to collect their animals: in the spring for branding the calves, and in the fall for cutting out and shipping the beef steers. The sheep range over smaller areas at a time, every flock having a home corral from which it is driven forth in the morning by the shepherd and his dog, to feed for miles around, changing pasture every day. The pastoral country is traversed by numerous lines of railway, but it supports few towns and no cities. Such important places as Denver and Helena, built at the foot of the Rockies, derive some support from the pastoral industries, but are mainly sustained by mines of the precious metals.

Our second division embraces all the mountain ranges, which are, of course, out of all calculations for possible future settlement, save where minerals are found in their flanks, or where lumbering camps are established to work up the pine which everywhere extends up to the timber line. The mountains produce more wealth than all the

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farms between the hundredth meridian and the Pacific coast, but the population they support is gathered in isolated mining camps, is shifting in its character, and will never develop the highest civilization.

Our third division comprises the enormous desert area which occupies most of the map between the Rockies and the Sierras. Among the acrid sage-brush bushes that cover the whole of this dreary region a little grass grows, and where water can be found for flocks and herds the land is not wholly valueless. The greater part of the country, however, is destitute of running streams, and the pools of bitter alkaline water that abound will not quench the thirst of either man or beast. Most of this region is just as absolutely a desert as Sahara. Only a little thread of valley here and there can possibly be reclaimed. It would be wise for us, as a nation, not to let our vanity blind us to this fact. We have grown accustomed to humbugging ourselves about our vast mid-continental spaces, running our fingers over the great vacant expanse of the Far West, and imagining it a reserve of land for future generations to fill up as our own generation has filled up the fertile plains that lie just west of the Mississippi valley. Nothing is gained by perpetuating this folly. We have immense desert tracts that reach from Mexico almost up to the British boundary, and embrace nearly all of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Nevada, much of Wyoming, Colorado, Texas, California, and Oregon, and the basin of the Columbia in interior Washington.

We now come to our last division, the valleys, and here lie the only possibilities of future development in the arid region outside the mining districts. We do not use the word "valley" in the Far West in as broad a sense as it is used in the older regions of the country, as embracing all the territory drained by a stream and its minor tributaries, but we confine it to the bottoms lying along the stream and the bench-lands immediately contiguous. For example, when we refer to the valley of the Yellowstone or of the Rio Grande, we mean only a narrow strip of land adjacent to the main river. In speaking of the valleys of certain streams as capable of irrigation, we are likely to give an erroneous idea to readers not familiar with the topography of the arid region. Run a furrow through a twenty-acre field; let the furrow represent all the land in the valleys of the arid States and Territories that can ever by any possibility be brought under irrigation and tillage; let the rest of the field represent the absolutely irreclaimable area; then you will have a fair idea of the relative extent of the valleys that may at greater or less expense be

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watered by canals, and the intervening stretches of table-lands that must forever remain in their present condition.

A few years ago the reclamation of land in the arid States promised to become a question of national interest. A committee was sent out by the United States Senate to travel all over those States and make a report. Many people hailed this action as the beginning of a Congressional policy that would undertake the construction of vast reservoirs and great canals. It was argued by these hopeful people that because the Government had spent hundreds of millions of dollars on rivers and harbors in the humid regions for the benefit of the people of those regions, it might reasonably be expected to begin a system of expenditures to reclaim its own lands in the desert region. About the same time a law was passed authorizing the Geological Survey at Washington to reserve sites for reservoirs, and that Bureau sent out a corps of young men, fresh from the colleges, to wander over the West and mark off on the map such localities at the sources of the streams as they fancied might become available for storing water in case Congress should determine to go into the irrigation business.

Sagacious people in the arid region now begin to understand that the question of irrigation was taken up at Washington only as a matter of transient fancy in a lull in national politics, and that it is not possible to awaken more than a languid interest in it in the great populous East. They now doubt whether any swing of the pendulum of national thought toward patriotism and centralization will ever go so far as to influence Congress to spend money on irrigation enterprises before the inevitable return movement begins. The irrigation agitation begun a few years ago has by no means spent its force, however. It produces an annual national convention, which discusses projects for State legislation, and has also evolved a creditable monthly journal. In the way of State legislation, progress has been made in recent years by the adoption in other States of the California statute known as the Wright law, enabling the people in any particular section, not necessarily bounded by county lines, to organize an irrigation district and issue bonds for the construction of a canal. Such bonds have the same basis as county and township bonds, and rest on the taxable property of the district. The people of a district thus furnished with an irrigation canal own the canal just as they do the roads, and manage it through water-masters elected as are other local officers. They levy a tax for the interest on the canal bonds and for

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the maintenance of the canal. The system works well where there are settlers sufficient to give confidence to bond-purchasers, and when it is honestly administered, but it is not adapted to regions where there is nobody to organize an irrigation district. Serious frauds have recently been perpetrated in California in heavily bonding districts for the construction of worthless canals.

At the annual irrigation conventions there has always been a good deal of talk about the donation of the whole body of the arid lands by the Government to the several States, and the discussion shows that there are two sides to the question. The dominant sentiment has appeared to be opposed to the proposition. The arguments against it are that the lands would be squandered by unwise and possibly corrupt grants to companies proposing to build canals, and that the States are not strong enough financially themselves to undertake the work of reclamation. The latter argument is certainly a valid one. These States are young, and are burdened with heavy expenses for the support of all the various educational, penal, and benevolent institutions regarded as a necessary part of the equipment of the old and rich States of the Union. If they should borrow money and embark in the gigantic undertaking of redeeming from the desert their irrigable valleys, they would in all probability run headlong to speedy bankruptcy.

A very important measure was adopted by the last Congress without much consideration and with no opportunity for discussion in the press of the arid States. During the last hours of the long session which closed in September, 1894, Senator Carey, of Wyoming, succeeded in tacking a section to the Sundry-Civil Appropriation bill which opens a pretty wide field for State action in the reclamation of desert lands with the aid of a land bonus given by the General Government. This new and unexpected legislation is in effect a compromise between the views of the people who want to keep hammering away at Congress for national appropriations to build canals and reservoirs, and the larger number who look to the States for action. The measure provides for the donation by the Government to each of the States in the arid region of tracts of reclaimable land to an aggregate of one million acres. A State proposing to take advantage of the law must file maps with the Secretary of the Interior showing the tracts applied for, the plans of irrigating, and the sources of water supply. If the Secretary shall approve these maps he is authorized to reserve the tracts indicated. The State may then make contracts

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for irrigation works, but the patents pass to the State only on proof of their completion, and of the actual settlement of the reclaimed lands in tracts of not more than one hundred and sixty acres, and of the irrigation of at least twenty acres on every such tract. The State may, however, assign its right to receive such title.

There was at first a good deal of doubt felt in the arid States as to the utility and probable outcome of the Carey law, but by the time the legislatures assembled last winter public sentiment was generally in favor of accepting the proffer of Congress and making an effort to secure the reclamation of at least one considerable tract in each State to test the workings and benefits of the new scheme. In Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Washington bills were passed creating State irrigation-commissions, with power to make surveys, adopt plans, and contract with companies for the construction of canals; the construction companies to receive as full payment for their work the lands reclaimed which are to accrue to the States. This State legislation differs considerably in its details, but no State has shown the least willingness to undertake itself the task of canal building or in any way to involve itself in debt on account of the work to be done under the Carey law. Montana proposes to issue State warrants in payment for canal construction, but these warrants are to be a lien only upon the lands to be reclaimed and are to be redeemed from a fund created by the sale of such lands. One State provides for a board of five commissioners, another for one of three, and still another puts all the power in the hands of one commissioner. One charges canal companies seventy-five cents an acre for the lands it is to turn over to them; another fifty cents. These are matters of minor importance. The general plan followed in all this State legislation is to use the donation of Government lands as a bonus to induce corporations to build irrigation works, and carefully to refrain from involving the State in debt on account of such works. In every case corporate enterprise is appealed to. The great merit of the Carey law is that now, by the bringing in of the State as an intermediary, corporations can secure what will amount to practical ownership of large tracts of land to be irrigated from the works they construct. Both the Carey law and the new State acts prevent any abuse of corporation control over irrigated lands, the former by requiring that they shall be sold to actual settlers in tracts of not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres and the latter by fixing a maximum price. As the title must pass from the General Government through

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the States the latter can regulate all matters of settlement and sale. It remains to be seen whether the four States that have accepted the grant of arid lands offered by Congress will be able to enlist corporations in the work of canal building. In all these States, however, there is a hopeful view taken of the probable results of the legislation recently adopted, and it is believed that one or more favorable localities will be selected at once for early reclamation.

All this recent legislation, national and State, shows the correctness of the position taken all the while by conservative people in the arid region, that we must look to corporate enterprise for the future of irrigation, and not to appropriations from Congress or to schemes financiered on the credit of the States.

Localities where individual settlers, or companies composed of a few settlers living in the same neighborhood, can cut inexpensive ditches and water their farms, will all be occupied in the near future; but there can be no large additional settlement of the arid States without the building of costly canals. The people of the arid regions have no surplus capital to employ in such undertakings. Their means are all in active use in their present affairs, and they must look to the East or to foreign countries for investments in the bonds of irrigating companies. Population in all the arid States and Territories is almost at a standstill. In some it has fallen back during the past two or three years, owing to the decline of silver-mining. Montana and Colorado, the most attractive of these States, have not as many people as they had five years ago. Neither has Idaho. Utah, Wyoming, New Mexico, and Arizona are now making no visible progress. In Southern California the fruit industry has built up large and flourishing communities, living in irrigated valleys, and like conditions in the dry valleys of interior Washington are beginning to produce similar gratifying results. Nevada has steadily declined for the past twenty years and ought to be abolished as a State and its territory partitioned between California and Utah. It has almost no running water and has little to hope from irrigation.

I think we can look forward to a long period of slow but uninterrupted development of irrigation. We add at least a million souls to the population of the United States every year. Most of our good lands in the humid regions are occupied, and population has pressed westward into the sub-arid belt, across the danger-line of drought, until it has been compelled to recede. The epoch of speculation and of over-stimulus of manufacturing as a means of forcing the growth

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of towns and selling real estate has come to a disastrous close. Our additional population must go to the soil for a living. Land will appreciate in value, and the farmer's occupation will gain in dignity and independence. The sunny valleys of the arid States and Territories, as fast as reclaimed from the desert by irrigation canals, will attract a dense population by their great productivity and the certainty of regular and large yields of forage, grains, and fruits. These valleys will present the appearance of continuous villages from end to end of the canals. They will be the home of intensive farming. Electric railway lines will traverse them, carrying the produce of the farmer to the shipping-points on the steam roads. The facilities for social intercourse, for education, and for thought-interchange, which these belts of dense settlements will afford, will develop in them a high grade of rural civilization.

This is a pleasant picture, but we must not lose sight of the fact that these strips of highly organized and intelligent country life will be limited to the immediate vicinity of the watercourses, and will always be separated by broad areas of irreclaimable lands, useful at best for pasturage, and in some regions an absolute desert. There will always be a wild phase to Far Western life. Our realm of adventure and hardihood,—of the cow-boy, with his spurs and sombrero; of the big freight-wagon, with its six or eight mules guided by a single jerk-rein; of hunting expeditions for deer, elk, and mountain-sheep; of the prospector with his led horse, loaded with grub-stake, blankets, pick, and pan; of the pack-train winding up the mountain gorge; of camps beneath the stars on lonely plains, or on sage-brush wastes where the dismal howl of the coyote breaks the silence of the night,—this realm of romance, of courage, and of a rude physical life, is not going to disappear. The sedentary dweller in the rich and populous irrigated valleys will always be brought into close contact with the bold rider, the daring hunter, and the venturesome seeker for gold and silver. Let me repeat, in conclusion, the comparison I have already used. The single furrow run across a twenty-acre field represents all the area that can ever, by the largest enterprise and the most liberal expenditure, be reclaimed for cultivation in the arid region, and the remainder of the field represents the area that will always remain in its present condition of pastoral plains, mountains, and deserts.

E. V. Smalley.

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MR. KIPLING'S WORK, SO FAR.

SAINTE-BEUVE, one of few critics that have united thorough and authoritative criticism with unfailing entertainment in the manner of presenting it, thought it more important for a young writer, at the beginning of his career, to do differently from others than to do better. Mr. Kipling has conformed most exactly to this precept, and from the outset he has both done differently from his fellows and better than most of them. He drew an attention that could not be denied him; he has charmed us with a fresh power of observation in the revelation of a new field; with bold and direct narrative; with skilful character-drawing; imaginative insight into the domain of the rare and curious; with passages of genuine pathos, and with a pervading play of humor, which, though it too often descends to buffoonery, does not lack some of the higher features of that quality. A passing touch like "Continue, young Clive," in "A Conference of the Powers," where a sedate, elderly novelist is hearing with admiration of the warlike adventures of some boyish officers just back from Burmah, is worth many paragraphs of the rough-and-tumble comedy of Mulvaney and his counterparts.

Mr. Kipling's works are now published[1] in a uniform edition, and we shall have him on record, more distinctly than ever, as a protest against tameness, diffuseness, and the over-refinement of phrasing on the part of those to whom words come too easily. He is a belligerent and even decidedly pugnacious spirit,—one of those who appear in due course to unceremoniously knock about accepted traditions, disturb the apathy that tends to settle down upon the arts if too long let alone, and to clear the literary atmosphere. Bret Harte did that in his day; so in a lesser degree did Cable, with both of whom Kipling has affiliations. A writer must have his literary

[1] (1) "Plain Tales from the Hills;" (2) "Life's Handicap, Being Stories of Mine Own People;" (3) "Soldiers Three," "The Story of the Gadsbys," "In Black and White;" (4) "Under the Deodars," "The Phantom Rickshaw," "Wee Willie Winkie;" (5) "The Light That Failed;" (6) "The Naulahka: A Story of West and East," by Rudyard Kipling and Wolcott Balestier—6 vols., published by Macmillan; "The Jungle Book," published by The Century Company, and "Many Inventions," published by D. Appleton & Co.

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ancestry, and, whether consciously or not, Mr. Kipling descends from Bret Harte. Had the pioneer stories of California not been written, we should possibly never have had these pioneer stories of India.

In one of the stories, too, of the latest volume, "Many Inventions," he descends directly from Hawthorne. The half-faun, Mowgli, amiable lover of nature, and foster-brother of the wild things of creation, is simply Donatello, of "The Marble Faun," placed in a new setting. This tale is marred by a jarring note, the somewhat characteristic fault of a haste that cannot be relied upon to keep the general development and proportion of a theme up to its nobility of conception. Imperfectly rendered speech, broken English, invariably provokes a smile and belongs to the region of low comedy. After the smooth, melodious discourse of Kenyon, Hilda, and Miriam, talk of "der cult of der old gods," and the like, by the German inspector, Müller, is a great incongruity; it simply destroys the seriousness of the thought as fast as it is emitted.

To speak for myself personally, I can remember the sort of thrill I felt when I first heard of this new writer's peculiar field. What a field it was, and what a piece of good fortune for the discoverer! And the idea was so simple, so obvious, withal—as the greatest inventions are apt to be the simplest—that one could not but marvel why nobody had ever taken it before. India, quite untouched by the literary plough, was perhaps the last opportunity for a man to carve out a kingdom for himself in unknown regions. There will be unknown regions in Africa and elsewhere, to be sure, and there are little-visited islands in the sea; but the clearing up of these can add only some trifling details to our knowledge of savage man; they cannot offer the piquancy of contact between two grand civilizations such as have been reacting upon each other during the long English domination of India. An original field is a part of a new writer's talent as well as good fortune, and is not to be begrudged him: it is a legitimate part of his invention and his success.

Still, it is clear that a given effort produces much greater effects, on such ground, than if exerted in the general struggle with competitors of a high order, elsewhere; and it is possible that the critical class, jaded with examining too much uniformity, even if it chance to be all excellent, may sometimes unduly welcome the refreshment contained in mere novelty. A great and sudden popularity is disturbing to the judgment, and, while it is absurd to go to the fastidious extreme which holds that everything popular must be bad, a great

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popularity ought always to be a little resisted and held to account. Walt Whitman well says, "Whatever tastes sweet to the most perfect person, that is finally right," and there are certain old and firmly established tests which everything must ultimately pass before there can be conceded to it the loveliness, the repose, the perfected form of true literature. With such tests in view, we seem to find in these new productions not a little of pose, false sentiment, mock-heroics, devil-may-care defiance of proprieties that ought not to be defied, together with rude conventionalisms of style quite as bad as those of the smoother sort they aim to set aside. The verse—in the volumes devoted to that sister accomplishment—is often dangerously nigh to pure doggerel; the "Barrack-Room Ballads" do not always rise above the concert-hall ballads which they distinctly take as a model. Great inequalities of performance, and, more important still, great inequalities of level, give us pause in the midst of the general chorus of admiration. There are zealous partisans that seem to admire in him only the eccentricities, what may be called the "Kiplingisms," just as there were people who liked in Browning only the "Browningisms," and in Carlyle only the "Carlylisms." Many can never mention him without considering whether he is already a candidate for immortal honors. This is to be said, I think, that, even when inclined to disparagement, we find ourselves comparing him with the higher talents in the story-telling professions, and not with the inferior, and this feeling alone concedes a good part of the claim that is made for him.

Mr. Kipling, having succeeded in making himself different from others, likes often to be as different as may be from himself. That is to say, while no man can escape his own limitations, and thus all his productions fall into a certain limited number of classes, he avoids—as so many others in the arts do *not* avoid—striking always the same monotonous note. An artistic love of variety, and an impatience with what is once fairly settled and well done, drive him on, and almost each successive number in a volume of stories is a new mood and a fresh theme. "Many Inventions" has not the original novelty of "Plain Tales from the Hills," and as a collection it is not quite as good as "Life's Handicap," but it presents all the author's characteristic merits and defects, and gives us his complete range. In one respect it is even fuller than any of its predecessors, namely, in the fertile rhapsody of sombre-hued imagination, upon which his fame may finally rest, when any of the trivial garrison episodes, the

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funny stories of drunken men, and panegyrics of military pugilism and slaughter, have passed out of sight.

Though why, after all, should we be so continually possessed to determine reputations finally? Mr. Kipling is understood to be a very young man, in the prime of vigor; there has been no hint of any chill in his warm reception, nothing to diminish production. We may confidently count upon large additions to the output from his pen, either dealing further with his chosen subject of India, and throwing fresh light upon the volumes already issued, or with yet new material which so active a mind as his can never fail to discover wherever it may be. There is time enough in the span of years before him, in the natural course of things, for much change, for evolution,—possibly a new period, or even many of them; thus we may well enough use deliberation in considering the true place in literature of this latest and most interesting of literary phenomena.

"A Matter of Fact" is the most striking example in the last-named book—or in any of them—of the vividly sombre imagination of which I have spoken. It is an astounding piece of invention,—the death, and, by a condition precedent, the life, of the sea-serpent. We are made to believe in things unreal, impossible, as vividly as if we had been present and assisted at this drama, with bated breath and glance, fascinated while repelled. Perhaps we could hardly have endured another moment's prolongation of the dread scene, or another stroke of detail beyond the just sufficient amount in which it is all exhibited. A volcanic eruption in the depths of the ocean throws up a sea-serpent, to struggle, bleed, and die upon the surface, while his consort thrashes and bellows about him in portentous grief and dismay over his fate. The sight is witnessed from the deck of a "tramp-steamer," which steamer is herself greatly imperilled both by the resulting tidal-wave and the antics of the monsters. We are made to know the very bottom of the sea more clearly than by the Duke of Clarence's dream. The air smells "wet and muddy, like that of an emptied aquarium," then it is all-pervadingly penetrated with a crude rank smell as of musk. There follows, though they are in the tropics, the chilling cold that breathes out of the heart of nature in her cataclysms. We are amid the very elemental material and odors of creation, the azoic layer, as it were, of the ocean. "The dead and most untouched deep water of the sea," it is explained, "had been heaved to the top . . . the chill, still water that kills all life, and smells of desolation and emptiness." These fea-

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tures, whether they are invented outright or only selected from the details given by scientific observers of such disturbances, are nobly imagined in any case. The effect is that of exalted poetry.

The contact of the warm air and cold water causes the natural steamy vapors and, in the interest of plausibility, the action is fittingly enveloped in thick white fog and is seen but by glimpses. Once only the fog is briefly blown into shreds, and the sea, gray with mud, appears rolling on every side, ready for the final act of the tragedy. Thus far all is excellently, grandly conceived, as has been said, but there is also a second part to the story—its setting, and an extensive running commentary. This part fails, and in an almost habitual way. The three "newspaper-men," through whom it is told, are a very poor choice of witnesses for such an occasion, and the satirizing moral attempted, at the expense of the world in general—which has believed so many wonderful yarns that it is not likely to believe many more without some verification—is cheap and ineffective.

Mr. Kipling excels, again, in portraying the sick fancies of the brain in fever, or dazed by the fierce sun and almost as dread nights of the Indian climate. Dowse, unsettled by the lengthwise currents of Flores Strait, and longing for some currents to run crosswise, is in this vein, and with him is sketched in a veritable Shakespearian figure, the webby-footed Challong, the sea-gypsy, a more agile Caliban. The story is told by a lighthouse-keeper on the English Channel, with whom we sociably sit up all night—as it is the way to sit up and sit out with the various givers of information in these narratives. The sense of a long night vigil and of the uneasy wandering mind of Dowse is charmingly accentuated and keyed up by a brief passage of scenery with which the whole account closes. The keeper has put out his light, with a click:

". . . The glare ceased with a suddenness that was pain. Day had come. . . . The sea-fog rolled back from the cliffs in trailed wreaths and dragged patches, as the sun rose and made the sea alive and splendid. The stillness of the morning held us both silent as we stepped on the balcony. A lark went up from the cliffs behind St. Cecilia, and we smelt a smell of cows in the lighthouse pasture below."

Two characters in one of his ballads talk of

"Four things greater than all things are:
Women, and Horses, and Power, and War."

Here you have pretty well Mr. Kipling's own tastes and the larger categories into which his work falls, except that the order is to be reversed; when you come to woman, she is treated in a vastly

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diminishing perspective. Woman does not occupy here the important place she usually gets in romance. Nobody is tied to her apron-string; there is no particular desire to bask in her presence—the men have too many other engagements; there is little or no affectionate lingering upon the graces of her person, or attire, or the erratic and captivating traits of her mind. The general masculine tone toward her is the disillusioned gallantry of men who would much rather make their escape to the club than linger. The author and his characters are all alike "man's men," in the definite sense of that term. He himself gives us to understand that he would rather sit out with Mulvaney and a pipe—we fancy a strong and black one—and listen to the reminiscences of that reprobate paladin and representative British soldier, than to consort with beauty as the most taking social function that the army, at least, and all its affiliations can afford.

Not that he cannot sketch in a feminine figure charmingly if he desires, for there is scarce anything he touches that he does not adorn. I cite, for instance, Lispeth, the Hill-girl, portrayed in a few bold, sweeping, sufficient strokes:

"But she grew very lovely. When a Hill-girl grows lovely, she is worth travelling over fifty miles of bad ground to look upon. Lispeth had a Greek face—one of those faces people paint so often and see so seldom. She was of a pale ivory-color, and, for her race, extremely tall. . . . You would, meeting her on the hillside unexpectedly, have thought her the original Diana of the Romans going out to slay."

It reads like some swifter bit of Tourgueneff. But it is all too rarely that he chooses to do such things; and, though some of his characters—the weaker of them—fall in love and marry, the minimum of elaboration is expended on the master passion. Thus, no women at all are met with in the latest volume except Bedalia Heredsfoot, rude amateur assistant to the dispensers of charity in London slums, who comes to be kicked to death by her drunken husband; and another shadowy one, of the camp-follower order, used to point one of Mulvaney's severe sermons on morality. For Mulvaney, in spite of being of the famous "Three Musketeers," "collectively the three worst men in the regiment, so far as genial blackguardism goes," and in spite of the demon of drink, is in many other ways a most exemplary person. Mulvaney himself, in his lucid moments, regrets his bondage to the bottle-imp, but his associates and biographer all clearly view the case in a far more genial light. Indeed, the humor of drink, the vagaries of drink, whether in war or in peace, are so distinctive a feature, so sympathetically treated, that I should modify the state-

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ment as to the author's reluctance to strike a monotonous note. Some abatement of this would be in the interest of proportion. The personages all find it necessary to resort to the flowing bowl with an alarming frequency that recalls the wilder manners of the eighteenth century. In "Brugglesmith" we have an account of taking a hilarious toper to his home all across London; Lieutenant Judson gets only "ward-room drunk," after a victory over the Portuguese; but Mulvaney, drunk once more in the full sense of the term, rides a mad elephant. Bret Harte's reprobates do not drink anything like as much—though, to be sure, they rob and assassinate far more.

It remains food for recurring speculation, by the way, why it is that the British soldier should be typified by the most genuine of Irishmen. Is it meant to be conveyed that the Irish element in the army is as superior to the rest as is Mulvaney to his two mates? For he is made to rise head and shoulders above them in every sense. The little London cockney, Ortheris, is, at most, "nippy" and tough, like one of his own terriers; while the lumbering Yorkshireman, Learoyd, is simply, as Ortheris puts it, "a 'ay-rick in trousies. 'E be'aves like one, an' . . . 'e'll die under one." "The Finest Story in the World" gives us some glimpses of the life of a Greek galley-slave, as if he were illuminated for an instant by electric light, in his dark hold, where the oars were splintered and driven through him, in the shock of contending ships. "The Lost Legion" is a regiment of ghosts who rise up amid their own graves and aid in a night-attack on an Afghan stronghold. Both belong to the finely imaginative school of the sea-serpent story, and both, again, like that, are mingled with much irrelevant, far less perfect matter.

Mr. Kipling has not yet introduced India to us as thoroughly as was to be expected. If he be intending more, it must be in future books, for there is less than ever of India in "Many Inventions." He has devoted himself thus far to a somewhat superficial India, to people found in the military garrisons and at the health-resort of Simla, those who were his first audience. He looks from within the European lines, and the belt of fusion he considers is chiefly that where the Europeans employ the natives as their domestics and distribute to them impartial kicks and halfpence. Or, when he departs from this, it is, by preference, for an India of signs and wonders, an Orient still pretty closely allied with that of the Arabian Nights and of Moore's "Lalla Rookh." To mingle some strong unhackneyed melodramatic episode in an environment of horses, dogs, guns,

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drinks, tobacco, profanity, chauvinistic devotion to the British Empire, satire of the Indian government, and other such-like "man's man's" diversions, would seem to be his chief ideal. But there is another and essential India inside this external one, and it may be that a good part of the rich field still remains to be worked. In our day a considerable part of the populace enjoys the benefits of university education; rich native merchants found libraries and extend the hand of fellowship and benevolence even to England; their princes marry European wives, and have villas at Nice and shooting-boxes in Scotland. In one of Mr. Kipling's own tales, already mentioned, we see the Bengali law-student, a fashionably-dressed, skeptical man of the world, walking down to his club in London. He concedes that when he gets back to India he shall probably take up again all his old Hindu ways and superstitions—and like them. It would be interesting indeed to follow him, to see the way of life of Ram Chunder and his circle when he did get home. The novels and stories of "manners," for which there would seem to be ample material in India, ought to be, as elsewhere, superior to those of adventure.

It would be even better than "going Fantee" with Strickland. Do you remember this Strickland? He was a young fellow who, when other people took their vacations in the normal way, used to put on an efficient disguise, instead, and go and be swallowed up completely among the brown natives. He had got initiated into the Sat Bhai at Allahabad; he knew the Lizard Song of the Sansis, and thieves' jargon; had helped at painting the Death Bull at Jagadhri, which no Englishman ought even to see; he had conducted service in a mosque as a Sunni Mollah, and finally he had passed eleven days as a fakir or priest. This was curiosity of the commendable sort; perhaps Mr. Kipling yet means to show that it was literary curiosity as well, and give us the results of it.

Mr. Kipling is chiefly a romanticist, but the pressure of the inductive method, the demand for a very close observation of facts, is so strong upon all intelligent minds in our times—his with the rest—that he can never help giving us much more than mere romanticism.

WILLIAM HENRY BISHOP.

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THE GREAT LIBRARIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

DURING the past thirteen years seven events have occurred which, either by the novelty of the ideas they represented, or the magnitude of the interests they involved, have directed public attention peculiarly to one department of education. In 1882, the Enoch Pratt Library was founded in Baltimore; in 1887, the Newberry Library was founded in Chicago; in 1894, the Crerar Library was established in Chicago; and, in the present year, the new buildings of the Boston Public Library, of the Chicago Public Library, and of the Congressional Library, will have been completed, and the consolidation of the Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations will have been effected. Within the past few weeks, also, the superb gift of President Low makes certain that the great new building for the Columbia College Library will be undertaken. These seven events have gained a popular prominence; but to them should be added certain others which, although not perhaps as impressive in their immediate results, may prove even more far-reaching: the work of certain State commissions, as in Massachusetts and New York, in extending State aid to the establishment of local libraries.

What, then, is singular in these enterprises? Not books certainly, for they have existed since the days of Nineveh; not libraries, for they have existed since the days of books; not the number of books represented, for no single one of these institutions represents more than a fourth of the volumes now contained in the National Library of Paris. The Newberry, the Crerar, the Enoch Pratt, the Astor, Lenox, and Tilden libraries were founded by private endowment; but other great libraries have been founded by private endowment before these. The Boston and Chicago public libraries are municipal institutions supported by general taxation; but there exist in Great Britain alone more than 200 such institutions similarly supported, while the Library of Congress has in its constitution few features distinct from that of the British Museum or other national libraries, and lacks elements of preëminent value which they possess.

Literature existed long before the invention of printing; and libraries have reflected the career of literature. But it may almost

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be stated roundly that, if not from the days of Alexandria, at least from the invention of printing, down to the middle of the nineteenth century, only one new type of library was added to those already existing—the subscription library, whose creation was due to the simple sagacity of Benjamin Franklin. With the passage almost contemporaneously in England and in two of the United States, of the enabling acts which authorized the formation of public libraries supported by general taxation, another new type was created. The act of Massachusetts was in 1848 (a special act—a general act followed in 1850); that of New Hampshire in 1849; that of Great Britain in 1850. The two libraries first to be established under these acts, the library of Manchester, England, and the library of Boston, both established in 1852, were the pioneers of this new type. Their example proved amazingly attractive; so that to-day the Manchester library is but one of 200 of its kind in Great Britain, and the Boston but one of more than 900 of its kind in the United States. The characteristics of those two libraries must, therefore, to some extent represent the characteristics of two entire groups.

The libraries of Boston and Manchester are alike in this: they are municipal institutions supported by general taxation; they are administered by a board representing the tax-payers at large; the books that they purchase with municipal funds are primarily books to interest the general reader, and only secondarily books to interest the specialist; they circulate this material in addition to making it freely accessible for reference. If they differ at all, it is not so much in their individual constitution as in their relation to other departments of education. When the first public libraries were established in Great Britain there was no system of common-school education to form at once their justification and their complement. They were created, as museums or art galleries have been created, as institutions of more or less isolated function. And every principal enactment for their establishment in Great Britain provides that out of the funds raised for them, the same commissioners shall, in connection with them, have power to establish museums, art galleries, and schools of science and of art. In the recent movement for the extension of university teaching, the public libraries throughout England have been utilized as laboratory, class-room, and lecture-room. But the British libraries had taken the initiative in these activities long before university-extension enlisted them. It was, for instance, twenty-nine years ago, that the Liverpool library inaugurated its system of free lec-

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tures, which, in 1893, were 36 in number, with an average attendance of over 1,300 persons, and an aggregate during the winter of nearly 50,000. And the latest report of the Liverpool library relates "the work done by the affiliated institutions—libraries, museums and art galleries," as though such an alliance between the library and these other institutions were exclusively appropriate.

The Boston Public Library was created with a somewhat different view. Its justification, as expressed in a report drafted by a committee whose chairman was Edward Everett, and one other of whose members was George Ticknor, was in effect this: that while the system of public education in Boston might sustain a comparison with any in the world, and seemed adapted to give a first-rate school education at the public expense to the entire rising generation, yet there the system of public instruction stopped. "Although," says the report, "the school and even the college and the university are, as all thoughtful persons are well aware, but the first stages in education, the public makes no provision for carrying on the good work. It imparts, with a noble equality of privilege, a knowledge of the elements of learning to all its children, but it affords them no aid in going beyond the elements. It awakens a taste for reading, but it furnishes to the public nothing to read. . . . As matters now stand, and speaking with general reference to the mass of the community, the public makes no provision whatever, by which the hundreds of young persons annually educated, as far as the elements of learning are concerned, at the public expense, can carry on their education and bring it to practical results by private study." From the first, therefore, the Boston library was adopted into a relation with the system of common-school education, which in its turn was rooted deeply in our social organism. It was accepted as part of that system which was matter of common acceptance and conviction.

There is an amusing passage in an English work on public libraries (whose title in a former edition was "Free Public Libraries"), in which the author says that the use of the term "free" in connection with public libraries was "highly objectionable"; that in England it had undoubtedly averted from such institutions many worthy persons, who were led to class them with "free soup kitchens, and free wash-tubs in public wash-houses." He adds that "in America no public library is allowed to be called "free" unless supported entirely by private munificence"! It was perhaps the affiliation of public libraries in Great Britain, with institutions that are

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apt to be created "by private munificence," that has inclined certain persons to regard them as merely eleemosynary.

The public library in the United States is happily exempt from any such imputation. It was created by and for a people wonted to the notion of a free school system, and as part of that system. In making use of it, they feel as little the objects of charity as they do in sending their children to the public schools. In both cases they are the patrons, not the beneficiaries. More than this, they have a sense of ownership in, and control over, these institutions, which the English common people, accustomed to receive educational advantages as benefits handed down from the upper classes, will be slow to attain. That this sense of ownership and control is in itself of the highest educational value was urged in that report which has been quoted; which insisted that a public library, to be "important to the whole people, a part of their education, and an element of their happiness and prosperity," must be a *city* institution. There was profound foresight in the course taken by Mr. Pratt. Instead of placing his endowment in the hands of a private corporation, he turned over the million dollars direct to the municipality, merely stipulating that the city should appropriate annually an amount equal to the income of that sum for the maintenance of a free library. The private endowment, therefore, became merged in the public undertaking, and except for the name which perpetuates the memory of the gift, the institution would appear simply as a municipal enterprise on the part of the city of Baltimore.

The argument advanced in the above report was for a library that should *supplement* the work of the common school. There was not then foreseen the movement which is now enabling the public library to *complement* the work of the common school. As a result of this movement (developed under the leadership of the Worcester, Mass., Public Library) the schools draw directly upon the library for books to be used in class work; so that the library is woven in with the whole system of common-school education. In this way the boy or girl who, after completing the grammar or high school course—and it must be remembered that but one in four who enter the high school completes the course—cannot afford a collegiate education, but must go forth at once into some active career, is still by familiar experience equipped to pursue a higher education in the public library: all the best that mankind has had to say in history, science, or art, being there placed freely at his service.

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This work with the schools is but one phase of that new energy which, during the past twenty years, has forced the public library into prominence as an aggressive factor in popular education. With the establishment of the first public library, came a novel idea: that a book has an active as well as a passive duty to perform; that it should not merely be hospitable to those who come to seek, but should itself go forth, should seek out the individual and impress its stored-up activities upon him. With this new idea of the duties of a book, came a new idea of the functions of a library. To enable these functions to be exercised required systematic training and associated effort. It was the establishment, in 1876, of the American Library Association and of the "Library Journal," and of a series of annual conferences of librarians, that both induced concerted effort and rendered it possible. And systematic training is now represented in the United States, in the first place by seven library schools (that of the New York State Library, that of Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, that of the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, that of the Armour Institute, Chicago, and those of the Denver and of the Los Angeles Public Libraries, and that conducted during the summer at Amherst, Mass.), and in the second place, by courses in bibliography and library economy, now forming part of the regular curriculum in various colleges (Amherst, Bowdoin, California, Colorado, Cornell, Iowa, Maine, Michigan, Wellesley). It cannot indeed be said of these facilities, that individually or in the aggregate, they afford the profound knowledge of literature and of books which is deemed requisite to the administration of large libraries abroad. There is with us no process of training so laborious as for instance is in vogue in Italy, under the Ministry of Public Instruction. The service rendered by our library schools and conferences is of a different nature: it is (1) to have induced the study of those economic devices by which a library may be enabled to exercise the activities of a higher institution of learning, without having its equipment; it is (2) to have promoted coöperation among libraries, so that the work of one may be made useful in another without unnecessary duplication; and finally it is (3) to have made more liberal the facilities in general offered to readers, by making known to the library profession at large, the experiments successfully tried by a few of its members. Whether or no it be true abroad, it is certainly true in the United States,—that such measures as have been taken to strip library administration of its formalities, and to render access to the books easier

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and more direct, have been taken under the initiative of the librarians themselves. If there has been any reluctance to do away with formalities, it has been on the part of persons who, not being brought into close and daily contact with the reading public, as is the librarian, cannot realize as he does that it is the specialist, who by education has the greatest respect for literature, who is apt to show the least respect for books; and that the library, if it suffer depredations, suffers least of all from the ordinary reader, who, without the knowledge to induce so great a respect for literature, is guarded by a greater reverence for books.

A small library, with a small body of readers, may without difficulty permit direct access to its books. As the library grows and readers become more numerous, the books are apt to be drawn farther and farther away and catalogues substituted in their place. After years of effort in the endeavor to devise perfect systems of cataloguing, our libraries are now trying, as far as possible, to substitute for the catalogue personal mediation and direct contact with the books. It is felt that unless this can be effected, large libraries will lose some of the agencies for good, which small libraries possess.

The coöperation which the science of library economy now urges implies not merely that libraries of kindred nature shall unite in devising mechanical aids to the use of their books, but also that libraries within a limited area shall differentiate as to the classes of books which they undertake to supply. The greatness of the opportunity in Chicago lies in the recognition of this. Besides the two endowed reference libraries, the Newberry and the Crerar, and the library of the University, there is the public library proper. Each of the four institutions has a more or less distinct field. The Newberry is rich in the reference literature of art, music, and *belles-lettres*. The University Library will naturally emphasize the department of philology. The Crerar will devote itself exclusively to science, theoretic and applied, and to the technical arts; while the Public Library, not specializing in any of the foregoing, may fitly supply the more popular material in every branch of literature for the general reader.

Library enterprise in New York represents a stage in one respect more advanced, and in another less so, than in Chicago; more advanced in that three libraries which are or may become more or less specialized in function, will be consolidated under one administration; less advanced in that to their union is still lacking a free city library, supported by general taxation. It has been as-

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sumed that even without this fourth element, the Consolidated Library would represent all that should need to be represented in order to give to the city of New York complete modern library facilities. In the Lenox there is represented the "museum" (though indeed something much wider than this, for a large mass of its material—for instance its *Americana*—is as important to the student of history and of literature, as another part is of paramount interest to the mere bibliophile); the Astor, though specialized in certain departments, represents the library of general reference; while the Tilden fund might legitimately be used for the purchase of books suited to general circulation, and for the maintenance of a circulating department. It may be doubted, however, whether the aggregate endowment, even assuming it to reach $8,000,000, will suffice to do the work planned for it. The bulk of it is already fixed in land, buildings and books. Could the free funds, including the Tilden, be reckoned at $3,000,000, the income of this at 4 per cent would be but $120,000 a year. Could the whole or the main part of this income be used for books, it would suffice to build up a very great collection; but if the library is to be free and circulating, seven-eighths of it will have to be used for administration. Chicago expects to spend $237,000 a year for the maintenance of its public library, and out of this sum to be enabled to spare but $30,000 a year for books and periodicals; $237,000 is equivalent to an endowment for this library of over $6,000,000 independently of the $2,000,000 spent for its new building. And yet this library is but one of a trio of free libraries, of which the other two—the Newberry and the Crerar—represent an aggregate endowment of nearly $5,000,000 additional. There is, therefore, represented in Chicago, were duplication of administration avoided, the equivalent of a consolidated library with an endowment of nearly $13,000,000. And the work which the Chicago Public Library is effecting involves six branch libraries and nearly forty delivery stations; a great system of distribution which brings the books to the doors of the readers, and enables the influence of the library to penetrate every remote quarter of the city. Such a work, if undertaken by the Tilden Library on a similar scale in New York, would very shortly exhaust the fund, and leave no permanent memorial of its donor. That such a fund should be left free to form such a memorial, is clearly just. And the city should see that it is not frittered away in ephemeral expenses. Concede it the duty of a city to provide a public library as part of its educa-

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tional system, this duty becomes not the less but the more emphatic, in case there be offered an endowment toward its public library. The endowment affords an opportunity, but it also creates a duty. To the city's duty to its citizens, is added its duty to the gift.

There must not be overlooked endowed libraries that are successfully doing the entire work for certain communities; of which the Enoch Pratt—with the Peabody Institute—is the most conspicuous example, and of which a legion of others, with lesser endowment, have sprung up all over the country. But the work which these libraries have had to do, to provide the facilities which they have provided for the individual citizen of those communities, is but a tithe of the work that will have to be done to provide similar facilities for the individual citizen of New York City. Nor is it merely that an endowed library is almost invariably cramped for funds for administration. Identified as it is by name with the original donor, it fails to attract gifts from other persons, who are not content to have their benefactions merged in his, yet who might be glad to share with him the honor of giving to a city institution. The Boston Public Library has become distinguished even above most special libraries for the richness of its special collections. The greater number of these—the Ticknor, of Spanish literature; the Bowditch, of mathematics; the Lewis, of early printed books on America; the Allen A. Brown musical library, and the Chamberlain Collection of autographs—have come to it as gifts, and undoubtedly have turned to it, not merely because it is a free library, but because it is a city library. This latter fact has aided it, too, to the purchase of other special collections (*e.g.*, the Barton) on singularly favorable terms. So that, although established primarily for the work of general education, it has come to be among the first of American libraries in that class of material of interest to the special student. Add, then, the direct educational value, to the citizens who use it, of a library which they feel to be their own to maintain as well as to enjoy, and there would seem to be strongest reasons for saying, that no endowed library can do the fullest work for the community, without having associated with it municipal funds and, in some form, municipal control.

Among the libraries named in the beginning of this article there are represented the more prominent different types of the modern free library. There is the Library of Congress, which, although in class of material it does not parallel either the British Museum or other national libraries, still stands as representing what we have

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toward a library really national. There is the university library, which, though a department of a private corporation, yet when administered with a liberality that has marked the administration of the Columbia College Library, is, for reference, free to the general public. There is the Lenox, the highly specialized, endowed reference library. There are the Newberry and the Crerar, the partially specialized, endowed reference libraries; the Astor, the endowed general reference lidrary; the Enoch Pratt, the library endowed for both reference and circulation; the Boston Public Library, the municipal library providing and circulating at the expense of the community material for the general reader, and accumulating in addition material for the specialist, in which latter work it is assisted by certain special endowments; and the Chicago Public Library, the municipal library which devotes itself solely to the general reader, and is practically unassisted by special endowments.

In the case of certain of these institutions, what has of late directed attention to them is not any new function which they have undertaken, but the splendor of the new structures which have been provided for them. The building for the Library of Congress is to be impressive, more perhaps from its great size and general scheme, than from richness of detail. In the new building for the Boston Public Library there has been a definite and pronounced design to produce a work of art. Such a structure has in itself undoubted educational value; but its erection cannot of course augment the functions of the library which is to inhabit it. It represents chiefly a sort of apotheosis of the confidence which the American people have come to feel in the public library as a branch of education.

Except the county, there is now not a single civil division of our Government that has not adopted the public library, in some form, as a branch of its educational work. The Federal Government has it in the Library of Congress; each State has adopted it in a State library; cities have adopted it in municipal libraries, and towns in town libraries. In the work of the Massachusetts Library Commission, and of the Board of Regents of the New York State University, we have in each case the State extending its aid to the establishment of libraries purely local. The amount of the aid given is small, to be sure—only $100 toward books—and is conditional upon local contribution to a like amount. But the result has been so to stimulate small communities theretofore indifferent, that in Massachusetts, for instance, since 1890, free public libraries have been established

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in 70 towns that had no library before. In New Hampshire, also, during the past two years, 56 libraries have been established through State aid. One feature of the enterprise in New York is peculiar evidence of the new theory which utilizes to the utmost the energy stored up in a book, and which recognizes that that energy can be potent only when active. The district libraries which were inaugurated in New York State in 1831, after an expenditure of several millions of dollars and an accumulation of over a million volumes, lost power because the collection of books in each became stagnant. The device of the Regents is a series of travelling libraries.[1] These bring freshly to each community in turn a fresh set of books, and therefore a new set of influences.

All this varied movement presumes, as has been said, an assurance on the part of the community, that, literature being indispensable, books cannot be too greatly multiplied, or, so far as the readers are concerned, too freely accessible. Private benefaction has turned to the founding of public libraries, with a zeal that bids fair to cripple the resources of universities and missions. And the libraries themselves have been spurred on to statistics, which to the skeptic seem to imply that they value more highly the number of books which a person may be induced to read, than in the amount of deliberate attention he can be induced to give to each volume.

With what calm deliberation might the lesson of a book sink into the soul in Lanfranc's day, whose statute for English Benedictines was based on the general monastic practice of his time:

"On the Monday after the first Sunday in Lent, before brethren come into the Chapter House, the librarian shall have had a carpet laid down, and all the books got together upon it, except those which a year previously had been assigned for reading. These brethren are to bring with them, when they come into the Chapter House, each his book in his hand. . . .

"Then the librarian shall read a statement as to the manner in which brethren have had books during the past year. As each brother hears his name pronounced he is to give back the book which had been entrusted to him for reading; and he whose conscience accuses him of not having read through the book which he had received, is to fall on his face, confess his fault, and entreat forgiveness.

"The librarian shall then make a fresh distribution of books, namely, a different volume to each brother for his reading."

Contrast the restless activity of book and reader in the modern Liverpool, whose Public Library in 1893, with but 62,000 volumes,

[1] For a full and interesting description see an article by Wm. R. Eastman in THE FORUM for January, 1895.

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had a circulation of 1,200,000 volumes, so that twenty readers sought each book, and each book had an opportunity to influence twenty readers within the twelve months.

The world of to-day, however, if no higher and no deeper, is far wider than the monastic world of the eleventh century. And increased facilities of transportation which have made us citizens of a larger community, instead of decreasing, have increased the uses of the book. Those who travel are interested to read of what they have seen; those who stay at home are jealous to inform themselves upon what they cannot see. As a solace to the soul the Book need not be multiplied: it is as incentives to the mind and as guides to conduct, in a society increasingly complex, that a multiplicity of books has come to be a necessity. So, on the whole, one need not lament the fervor which has produced for the United States nearly 5,000 public libraries, with three times as many volumes as there have been books published since the invention of printing.

HERBERT PUTNAM.

PUBLIC LIBRARY, Boston, Mass.

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THE ONLY CURE FOR SLUMS.

HOUSE-ENVIRONMENT powerfully affects social welfare. The cost of rent may turn the balance between comfortable living and eking out an existence. Bad sanitation, if it does not actually kill, will send whole hosts to almshouses, for sickness is the greatest direct cause of pauperism next to old age. Drunkenness, criminality, and moral degradation are never-failing products of the slums. There is no cure for cancer except the knife. Neither is there any other satisfactory way of dealing with irremediable insanitary premises than to tear them down. The only really practical question, then, is, How is this to be done?

Great Britain has given the most satisfactory answer to this question. Parliament more than forty years ago recognized that the highest of all human rights is the right to live, and that a distinction should be drawn between living and existing. Lord Shaftesbury's act of 1851 remained for the most part a dead letter, but the Torrens and Cross Acts of 1868 and 1879, and the Artisans' Dwellings Acts of 1882 effected something, while the Housing-of-the-Working-Classes Act of 1890 stands for model legislation and is doing much good. The distinctive feature of this last measure is expropriation by public authority, upon fair terms, of hopelessly insanitary property. Previous enactments gave the right to condemn insanitary houses, and even considerable areas, but their fatal defect was that acquisition was made fearfully expensive. With compensation based upon rental value, the slum-landlord had the advantage. More than that, the law gave him an additional motive for packing his tenements and raising his rent-roll to the highest possible limit. He was just so much better off when a jury of condemnation came to sit upon his case. But the act of 1890 changed all this. No allowance is now permitted for compulsory purchase, the price of the land being fixed at a fair market-value. If the property, or any part of it, is so bad as to constitute a nuisance, deduction is made from the value of the house for such an amount as would secure abatement and wholesome repair. If, however, the premises

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are unfit for human habitation or are structurally so bad that they cannot be made sanitary, salvage from the building is all that is allowed. These are the terms upon which owners of rack-rented, ramshackle tenements are treated; and who will say that they are not absolutely fair?

The laws of continental countries and of American States permit expropriation for works of public utility, but not for purely sanitary reasons. Yet it is evident to all careful observers that no authority is more urgently needed if cities are to be made healthy, and kept healthy, than the power conferred by the English act of 1890. The most important of the recommendations of the New York Tenement-House Committee of 1894 is, "that power be given to the Board of Health to institute condemnation proceedings for the destruction of buildings which are so insanitary as to be unfit for human habitation; with provision for reasonable compensation to owners in case of such destruction." "Reasonable compensation" is defined in terms practically similar to those contained in the British statute.

Expropriation is the best militant weapon that a Board of Health can possess. It is the only one of which the proprietor of insanitary property is really afraid. Formerly the "closing order" was considered a talisman, and it must be credited with a fair amount of service. But there is a class of cases with which it cannot deal, viz., cases where repairs, though possible, would be very expensive, and where a moderately deteriorated house is situated in an unwholesome area. Aside from the question of influence and the execution of repairs, which at best can have only temporary utility—dangers which always exist—less injustice is felt if the property is condemned at a fair valuation than if premises are kept indefinitely closed. The owner is scarcely a proper subject for sympathy, but one can conceive of circumstances making compulsory purchase better for all parties. Premises closed on the eve of business depression might be very hard to dispose of if held for any length of time.

Tax-payers, landlords, and tenants are all guaranteed fair treatment under English practice. The first step is an "official representation," made by the health officer to the municipal authorities, stating that within a certain area there are houses, courts, or alleys unfit for human habitation; that in this area the general health of the community is bad; that certain prevalent diseases are probably caused by the unhealthy conditions of the houses and streets, or from want of proper ventilation or conveniences; and that the evils are not suscepti-

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ble of remedy without an improvement scheme. The health-officer is required to inspect and report upon the condition of any area upon the complaint of two justices of the peace, or of twelve rate-payers, or he may act upon his own volition. The local authorities examine the "representation," declare the area unhealthy, and proceed to formulate an improvement scheme. Members in any way pecuniarily interested are excluded from voting. The improvement scheme, accompanied by maps, particulars, estimates, and statements of arrangements made for securing accommodations for displaced working people, is then submitted for approval to the Local Government Board, which is in one sense a national department of health. The details of the scheme are made public by advertisement, and notice is given to owners and occupiers. The Local Government Board, having approved the plan, submits it to Parliament for confirmation by an act.

Under this procedure the interests of all parties are fairly considered. Health-officers can be compelled to do their duty upon motion of a few rate-payers or two local justices. If municipal authorities refuse to take notice of the "official representation," they are obliged to furnish a copy of the document to the Local Government Board, and to file their reasons for refusal to act upon it. An investigation follows. Interested parties are given an opportunity for offering opposition, and costs are awarded them if their pleas are sustained. If they prefer, they may comply with the plan in reference to their own particular properties without being obliged to sell out. When an improvement scheme is once confirmed by Parliament, municipal authorities have no choice but to carry it out.

Wholesale expropriation of insanitary quarters is apt to bring considerable inconvenience to dispossessed working people. The experience of Paris, when the great boulevards were run through congested districts, showed that, left to themselves, members of this class locate largely in neighboring side streets, bringing about overcrowding and an increase of rents. The solicitude manifested in the English act is timely and just to the displaced, and offers protection to the public against the perpetuation of sanitary evils. The improvement commission does not usually buy houses in which to shelter at least one-half of the displaced; it simply uses its good offices to procure proper accommodation in the neighborhood. During the progress of the renovation of Bethnal Green the London County Council intervened most effectively. New homes, without overcrowding, were found within the radius of a quarter of a mile for the large majority of tenants.

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The intentions of the measure in this regard are clearly not socialistic, else municipalities would have been accorded the privilege directly, and not have been obliged to obtain governmental sanction. The provision was incorporated for the purpose of forestalling a combination of builders to depress the price of expropriated land. Those people who have interpreted the clause as a recognition of municipal Socialism, and have urged the Tenement-House Committee of 1894 to recommend that New York City shall acquire land and itself embark in housing operations, are decidedly on the wrong track. There is nothing in foreign experience with municipal housing of working people to render its repetition with us either desirable or attractive. Municipal lodging-houses may become highly desirable from sanitary or moral considerations, but for local authorities to spend public money competing with private enterprise in housing the masses is bad principle and worse policy. Something may be said in favor of an honest attempt to look after the worthy poor who find it everywhere difficult to secure acceptable accommodations within their means. But, to whatever degree this may have been an original motive, British experience shows that it has been liberally excluded from practice. The same result would be likely to follow in New York City, or elsewhere. The desire to make a fair financial showing would lead to the imposition of rents which the poor could not afford to pay.

If authority were given to the New York Board of Health to expropriate insanitary buildings and areas upon conditions fairly similar to the English method, what should be done with the land? It seems to me that the very first thing would be to provide breathing spaces and playgrounds in congested districts. The rear-tenement has been an awful curse, destructive alike to health and morality. It should be the first to be destroyed, and its disappearance may be made the means of a positive benefit. If the proper thing is done, it may turn out a favorable circumstance for New York's future inhabitants that rear-tenements were so long endured. When certain structures are torn down, the land should, in the majority of instances, be paved over, a covering erected to shelter the rear part in rainy weather, and light apparatus, such as parallel bars, swings, and poles for climbing, should be set up. The legislature of 1887 meant well when it appropriated a million dollars annually for ten years for small parks in New York. Apathy little short of crime has prevented even a moderate realization of benefit so far. But even though the intentions of the act had been fully carried out, so that a large number of small parks

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had been created, the need would have been only partially met. Sanitary amelioration would have been effected, but recreative facilities would still be far too few. The crowded districts of our large cities need more than open squares, even though they be made, as the New York Committee of 1894 recommends, half park, half playground.

Few really appreciate the dismal dreariness of life to children in the tenements. There is no opportunity for legitimate play, no rational outlet for an excess of animal spirits. At every step the child is confronted with prohibitions. The police subdue boisterousness and prevent ball-throwing or any unusually active game in the streets. The yard-areas, where yard-areas exist, are forbidden to be used for many pastimes dear to the juvenile heart. The lack of opportunity for healthful exercise or proper recreation causes the formation of gangs for nocturnal maraudings, at first purely mischievous, but ending very frequently in criminality. Anything which offers legitimate satisfaction to the child's desire for amusement is one of the surest methods of correcting the sinister influences of tenement life. Money spent for recreative spots of the kind mentioned means a smaller outgo for the maintenance of order and the protection of unoffending people, and, most important of all, it means the saving of human character. The exhilaration of earnest play and organization for childish sport will surely powerfully offset the philosophy of the streets.

What about the cost? Sanitary awakenings are always expensive, and expropriation, even under the most favorable circumstances, is costly. But there is no help for it, if reform is to be undertaken in a rational way. The burden need not entirely fall upon the present generation. We cannot levy upon our forefathers, who are primarily responsible, but we can assess benefits upon our descendants. Long-term loans for this purpose ought to be easily floated by our large cities at 3 per cent or 3½ per cent, with provision for an annual sinking fund. Land re-sold ought not to entail very heavy losses. Prejudice against expropriation, founded upon exaggerated ideas of its costliness, are current, because English experience under the old system is known and under the new method is not known. The difference has been simply enormous. Land in London has been acquired under the act of 1890 for much less than half what it would have cost if expropriated before that date. Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and, for the most part, London, have had their experience under the old *régime*, and it was

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this which caused the change to a more equitable basis. Substitution of *real* for *rental* value has produced an altogether different effect, and the power to expropriate on this basis is the greatest sanitary need to-day of most of our large cities.

What is the promised compensation? In the first place we may expect lower death-rates. British experience teaches this so plainly that it would be superfluous to quote figures. The fact is nowhere contested; only the degree of influence is open to difference of opinion. The actual saving of life is even more than a humanitarian act: it possesses considerable economic significance. No one will deny that sickness bears a close relation to bad housing. Is it not therefore an object of supreme interest to the commonwealth that those who contribute the muscle and the brawn which lie at the basis of economic propriety shall have some surroundings which foster health, instead of undermine it? Premature death of wealth-producers is a public loss.

Secondly, the social utility of improved housing is simply enormous. It is a powerful factor in good citizenship. If it be hard for a dyspeptic millionaire, surrounded by the delights of affluence, to be a good Christian, how much more difficult is it for a poor man, living in squalor and filth, to see the precepts of social justice, to say nothing of the beauties of moral teaching, exemplified by the civilization in which he lives? Squalid shelters give birth to social discontent, to moral carelessness, to brutal indifference, and in some natures to an unconquerable grudge. The genesis of 'isms most often takes place in the miserable tenements of a great modern city.

Lord Shaftesbury, after sixty years of fruitful philanthropic effort, wrote these significant words: "I am certain that I speak the truth, and a truth which can be confirmed by the testimony of all experienced persons, clergy, medical men, and all who are conversant with the working class, that until their domiciliary conditions are Christianized (I can use no less forcible term) all hope of moral or social improvement is utterly in vain." The distinguished French savant, Georges Picot, is no less forcible when he remarks: "The amelioration of dwellings is the best guarantee of civilization."

The first step in house-reform is to get rid of the bad houses.

E. R. L. Gould.

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WHY THE AMERICAN CONVERSATIONAL VOICE IS BAD.

THE American man leads the world as a ready off-hand speech-maker, and the American woman holds equal preëminence as a piquant society talker; and in no other country are there schools of "elocution" of so many sorts, sizes and conditions. Yet our men, even such of them as follow callings directly dependent upon the right uses of the voice,—such as clergymen, lawyers, and teachers,—are prone to neglect scientific training; and the mass of men and women give no serious attention to the subject more than the attention implied in their endeavor to pronounce words according to correct standards of orthoëpy. Any acute observer of the speech of cultivated American women will agree with me that it is not prevalently musical or delicately modulated, or, indeed, to be very highly commended upon any artistic ground. Not very long ago I chanced to attend a recitation in rhetoric given by an advanced class in one of our women's colleges famed for the excellence of its general work. The class was in no sense on exhibition; and the recitation was neither better nor worse than usual. Sitting within ten feet of a certain young woman, I noted her elocution, and since it was fairly representative of the elocution of her class, and, I think, too, of most classes in the college, I will try to convey a tolerably distinct idea of it through the following notation:

"Agâin we find 'n th' use * * Sarcâsm * * vêry pôwerful means * * stimûlat * * * to ac * * * * haps * * well 'no' ôrds * * Jôb to's arrog * * 'vîsers 's the bêst inst * * "

The asterisks in this transcript represent portions of the reading which at a distance of about ten feet were absolutely inaudible. The small type indicates words that were barely audible with strained attention. The circumflex accent indicates the peculiar "silly twist," a form of over-emphasis prevalent to an astonishing extent in the utterance of American girls and women in school and out of it. Let it be remembered also that the young woman's voice was need-

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lessly husky, and that her reading was made sombre and flaccid by the weakly uttered intonations of despondency; remember, again, that her performance is probably fairly typical of the average reading in similar institutions in America, and we shall in a measure understand how the voice is neglected in the education of our women.

If you observe the representative voices of different grades of the middle-class, voices of girls at play, voices of callers and hostesses,—the voices of women of the different social strata below the most highly cultivated,—you will notice that while they exhibit the faults common to the utterance of the more cultivated, they do not exhibit them in great excess. In other words, the speech of the middle-class American woman or girl is hardly more stridulous, or husky, or funereal, or flaccid, or silly, or constricted, or defective in any way indeed, than is the average speech in our women's colleges or in American "society." Unfortunately an indictment must be drawn against the vocal qualities of girls and women of all social grades.

First, the majority of our women's voices are weak. Take the average talk, and how much of it is clearly resonant throughout, and easily audible at a reasonable distance to the last syllable of every phrase and sentence? How much of it is non-flaccid? How much of it is even free from the substitution for true voice, especially in final words and syllables, of a husky murmuring, or dry, laryngeal rattling? How many girls or women among the acquaintances of any reader of this article habitually, in their ordinary talk, impress him with a vocal utterance that, in a word, is wholesomely robust?

Again, our women's voices are, on the whole, ungentle; that is to say, they are pitched unpleasantly high and hardened by throat contractions into an habitual "quacky" or metallic quality. This ungentleness is the one attribute of our women's voices that seems to have attracted most attention abroad. It is the most striking American defect. Nasality has held that place in popular estimation, but true nasality is not very common to-day in America; it seems to be dying out. The "quacky" quality of which I speak often simulates nasality, however, and is often mistaken for it. It has not yet begun to die out to any great extent. To-day it afflicts the utterance of nearly all our cruder girls and women and of many of our gentlewomen, too. Even those who have given much time to the art of song admit it freely and unknowingly into their speech. It is a hateful tone,—*mean* and *pinched*,—opposed in its very essence to all that is generous and winning. The needlessly high pitch that

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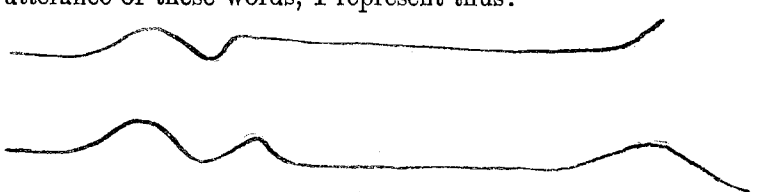
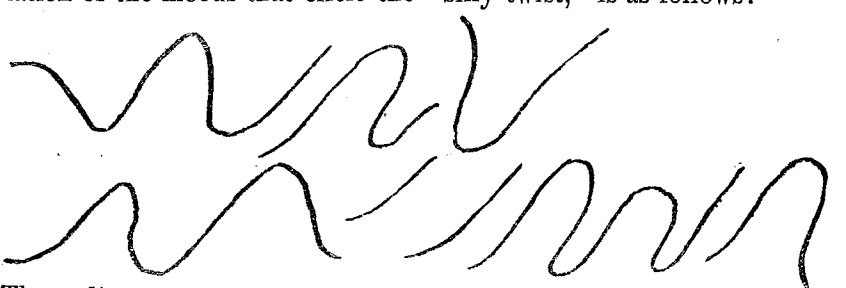
commonly goes with it is utterly heartless and ungracious. "Quackiness" and shrillness prevail less in the southern States than in the northern and western, but even southern women are not free from it.

Again, there is in our feminine manner of utterance in its more active moods a prevailing flippancy or silliness. Over-emphasis through the misused intonational "twist," technically noted as the circumflex inflection, is the immediate physiologic source of this distemper. Whenever I read one of Howells's lighter novels, or his little society-dialogues, I seem to hear the "silly twist" meandering through the speech of his women, as to-day it deviously squirms through the involved and rapid utterance of millions of them in the flesh. It is not, let me repeat, an attribute of any one class of American women, but contorts the speech of the gentle and the crude much alike. I wish it were possible for me to convey to the uninitiated precisely what I mean by this vocal "squirm." Possibly I may crudely help to an understanding of it by diagrams,—one showing the movement of the feminine voice in reposeful utterance restrained by the gracious touch of winning dignity, and the other showing the contrary. I will use for this purpose the words: "I am sure that I never thought *that;* she certainly told me it was a very fine performance." The movement of the voice, in the reposeful utterance of these words, I represent thus:



The movement of the voice in uttering these word under the domination of the moods that elicit the "silly twist," is as follows:



These diagrams do not pretend to accuracy. They are, however, free from misleading exaggeration, and they fairly represent the methods of speech that I am contrasting. Circumflex intonations,

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potent with subtlety as they are, have their high values, I must add, in good speech; but when misused they produce an impression of unsettled vapidity,—of a mind, I might say, wandering in limp vacillation like an invalid butterfly in a mild gale.

Finally, the typical voices of American girls and women are not cheerful. I am perfectly well aware that thousands of American women convey a sense of briskness and cheer by their voices, but a certain sepulchral, whiny, or weakly despondent intonation prevails astonishingly in the voices of our women and girls of all classes. While preparing this article I had occasion to make a business call at an office where I asked a young woman:

"Is Mr. —— in?" "Yes, sir," said she. She was a girl healthy enough to look at and probably fairly satisfied with her lot. But her "Yes, sir," was spoken in a tone that would attract attention for its depression if uttered by an invalid widow evicted upon the sidewalk at midnight in the heart of winter. "And may I see him?" I asked. "Yes, sir, I think so," quoth the girl,—as if all her friends were dead and she had given up expecting more.

I fear that most of us have become so used to this tone of despair among the girls and women of our households that we do not, as a rule, recognize an ordinarily despondent intonation when we hear it. A despondent intonation is likely to come at or near the end of a sentence (vocal energy being most likely to wane there); but it may occur anywhere. It is usually uttered with weak vocal force, and may be given with any form of inflection. Its essence seems to lie in the prevalent selection by the voice of what are musically called minor intervals. Thus the interval of a minor "third" (from *do* to *la*) is very commonly chosen by sepulchral speakers. This fault is extremely stubborn and apparently contagious; the "run," for instance, which it will sometimes take through a girls' school reminds one of the spread of a fungoid growth in an orchard.

Elocutionary defects are legion, and I have named only those most glaringly American, exclusive of mere mispronunciations, common and obvious in the every-day speech of our women, and remediable, I must add, by training. That the defects named are shared to some extent by girls and women of other nations is not at all denied. I do not, for instance, forget the peculiar sing-song mournfulness in the voices of Italian and Portuguese women. Nevertheless, I believe that they are more common in our country and more marked than among most other civilized peoples.

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Climate, undoubtedly, is one of the causes of these defects, but not, I think, the chief cause. Those elements, too, in American life which have hitherto kept our general culture shallow have worked, of course, favorably to these defects of utterance. One may fittingly say, indeed, that the American voice characteristically expresses American superficiality. Again, there is a mysterious aptitude, not more American, probably, than generally human, for the imitation and adoption of crude tricks of speech, which seems more powerful than the tendency toward pure utterance. This tendency undoubtedly accounts, in part, for the use of the tones of mourning by cheerful women, and of mean, hard tones by generous and kindly ones. But one obvious reason of these defects is found in the fact that scarcely one American girl or woman in a hundred breathes wholesomely. Of late years various "methods" of breathing have been taught, most of which involve prolonged and morbid attention upon some one special respiratory muscle at the expense of all the rest. I would have our girls breathe from their very cradles, and on through life, in a perfectly well-balanced, well-extended way. One reason why they do not so breathe—which no doubt prevailed more generally a generation ago than now—is tight dressing. But a social sentiment also has acted to restrain our women from the free exercise of their voices. They have been taught—at any rate, girls used to be taught—that a certain limpness of utterance is becoming. This feeling still operates directly in numerous instances, indirectly through heredity in all. But defective breathing is not the only immediate cause of defective vocality. Whatever unfavorably affects the general tone of the system will surely sooner or later register itself in the voice, even if respiration is good; for the voice is not only an "index of the soul" but a remarkably accurate index of the body too.

The voices of American men are quite as generally defective as the voices of our women. The concern of too many of them is to make money—voice or no voice. But—to put the matter even in hard commercial terms—it pays to have a good voice. The well-speaking man of business will outstrip his mumbling, coarse-voiced rival. The speech of American men is generally free from the "silly twist," though young men much in society sometimes acquire it; their intonations are not despondent, and their utterance is not characterized by general weakness. They have, however, the "throat-squeezed" tone of the women and make quite as pronounced and excruciating a use of it. What remains of true nasality, which is the

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passing of English vowel sounds through the nose and mouth instead of through the mouth alone, is rather a masculine than a feminine defect, and our men have certainly other faults not largely shared by our women. Of these, two may be named in particular: "gruff-mumbling"—largely the result of inflexibility of the lower jaw, associated with general immobility of the speech organs, especially the tongue and lips; and a general lack of emphasis involving great monotony of utterance. Observe the speech of an ordinary man of business, and, I may add, of a man of college breeding as well, and you will notice that it is clogged with these defects combined with many others less common. There is, too, the rather rare masculine defect, which I may call the "tobacco-croak," due to a peculiar effect wrought upon the vocal membranes by the tobacco habit. The prevalence of lower-jaw rigidity among our men of all callings and degrees of culture is amazing.

The following report of a conversation in a street-car between two prominent, well-educated business men does them no injustice:

"Wyeh." [How are you?]
"Whaheh." [How are you?]
"Ine deh." [Fine day.]
"*s, uh call ut s.*" [*Yes, I call it so.*]
"Wah thins genl?" [How are things in general?]
"Weh, weh don alil, tmuch thuh; sar kee thiz tirn these tie." [Well, we're doing a little—not much, though; it's hard to keep things stirring these times.]
"Suh. Bout rye. Fine suh." [That's so. You're about right. I find it so.]

The utterance of both men is clouded and clogged by most of the defects that I have named as masculine, and, in particular, is forced through mouth-apertures diminished to a minimum by jaw rigidity. The speakers used conventional phrases and therefore could guess each other's meaning. I fear that few readers will readily concede that such a conversation is fairly typical (unless of men in an advanced stage of intoxication); but we have become so accustomed to our own phonic defects, and so thoroughly settled in them, that we usually fail to detect them even when they are pointed out. The special defect that I am considering, viz., rigidity of the speech-organs, especially of the lower jaw, is one which so affects speech as to force upon the listener the impression of morose indifference.

Again, the commonplace speech of the typical male American is too often soulless with monotone. In his ordinary utterance he "drones" along on a level unrelieved by the inflectional ups and

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downs of lively speech. In his quieter social and professional or business speech, the average male American of all grades of culture is far too commonly a morose, monotonous mumbler.

I shall not seek here to indicate fully the causes of these numerous phonic defects. Some of the causes of defective vocalization by women apply also to men. Yet American men are not chronic invalids. They usually breathe at least fairly well, and not infrequently very well indeed. The climate affects them much as it affects the women: it produces catarrh, and it tends to goad to over-effort. The American man is typically "nervous," and in nerve-strain I find the cause of much that is unpleasant in his voice. Nerve-strain tends to the prevalence of the high vocal pitch and to *the* American fault—the "throat-clutch." It tends, too, to develop enunciatory rigidity precisely as it tends to develop rigidity of limb and body.

I have said that the elocution of college-bred men is not much better than that of men without education. Except a few who mean to become public speakers, how many college students, or how many college professors for that matter, know that their habitual speech is undermined and encrusted by elocutionary distempers? And how many would care if they did know? I am afraid that the number is small. But the defects that I have named, and a long list of others, are remediable by training. They are harder to remedy when they arise from climatic or deeply-ingrained causes than if their origin were superficial; but, through suitable training, they are all remediable. Considering that the manner of speech may either represent, or, through lack of training, grossly misrepresent, the character of an individual, of a community, or of a nation; considering that persistence in a bad trick of speech, such as the "throat-clutch," or the "jaw-clinch," or the "sullen drone," or the tone of despondency, reacts upon character itself, tending to confirm and doubtless to evolve the very mental or moral quality it stands for,—are our schools and colleges doing all that should be done for pure colloquial elocution? Yet no speaker of the English tongue anywhere can exceed in colloquial purity and harmony the exceptional American; and the educated man or woman who has and persists in an elocutionary evil obviously remediable should suffer the same penalty that follows the employment of gross errors of grammar or of rhetoric.

FLETCHER OSGOOD.

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THE IMPROVING CONDITION OF BUSINESS.

If it be asked, What is the one thing which gives the most promise for a better condition of business in the future? the answer would be, The advance in the prices of commodities. The increases in wages are usually taken as the criterion of the approach of better times, and so indeed they are; but such increases are the reflection of other conditions, not themselves the originating causes. If we would analyze the business situation more deeply, we must ask ourselves, Upon what ground are employees demanding higher wages and employers conceding these demands? On the whole we may take the higher range of quotations for staple products as the best basis for prognostications for the future.

There are two kinds of cheapness. As political economists have often pointed out, there has been a gradual fall in the prices of all goods, though not to the same degree in each class, during the last twenty years. This decline has been brought about principally by better business methods, by the application of new machinery to the varying processes of mining or manufacture, and by the cheapening of the cost of transportation both on land and on sea. The statement is so true as to need no detailed proof. Every business man has seen something of the process within his own observation; and, while this gradual reduction in the general run of prices has caused loss—great loss in certain individual cases to those whose property of one kind or another has been rendered almost worthless by the force of the movement—nevertheless the result has incontestably advanced the welfare of mankind. Civilization has gained immeasurably more than it has lost. But this gradual cheapening by better business methods implies that if one producer is hurt, another is more than correspondingly helped.

There is another sort of cheapness under which all producers lose, a cheapness caused not by improved processes of production, but by a paralysis of business. The trade of the world is now carried on through credits. The modern business man cannot succeed without borrowing money or goods; and, if for any reason

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the delicately adjusted system of credit becomes injured, there is a general demand for the fulfilment of those promises upon the faith of which the world's commerce is carried on. We say that a merchant is solvent when all his assets, conservatively valued, are more than his debts. But, if payment for his debts is pressed upon him, he has no other course than to sell his assets. If such a situation becomes at all general, it is clear that the pressure to sell will be much stronger than the power or the willingness to buy. Under such circumstances a marked decline in the prices of all the staple commodities must follow; a decline which will go below the cost of production at the most cheaply operated "plant." This, in brief, is the price-history of most of our panics; and it is one of the marked features of our own troubles during the last two years.

It is needless to say that this latter kind of cheapness means loss to all except the consumer. And since the consumer cannot hope to prosper in the long run unless the producer can make a profit—for the distinction between producer and consumer, though clear in theory, is one not easily followed in practice among the people at large—the cheapness produced by forced sales, during and after a panic, is a thing to be dreaded, and the removal of it by better conditions of business is a cause for general rejoicing.

The course of trade is something like this: Forced liquidation drives prices below the cost of production, while diminished consumption, coupled with a capacity on the part of producers for putting out twice what the people will buy, keeps prices low. If there have been no other and graver causes for the panic, such as a fear that all trade will be thrown out of joint by a change in that measuring rod, "the standard of value," or, if such fear, once entertained, is found to be subsiding, the recovery begins when at last the diminished supplies have fallen to the proportion of the demand. Meanwhile the intermediaries between producer and consumer, suffering losses because they have been trying to do business on a falling market, are buying only from hand to mouth. Thus, usually, the declining output, when once down to the limits of the timid buying, finds also the stocks in the hands of small dealers throughout the country very low. Suddenly it becomes apparent to long-headed men that if people are to eat, drink, clothe themselves, and do business, they must have the things required. These men buy a little more freely; this slight demand, acting upon a limited supply, is felt at once, and others join in the movement. Gradually or quickly, as the case may be, the

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demand increases until the end of the cheap or low-priced supplies is in sight. Manufacturers begin to receive orders for goods. These orders are accepted, but at an advance sufficient at least to cover expenses. It is then seen that the consumption has been abnormally low and the ruling prices also low. The better feeling finds expression in an extension of the purchasing movement, but by this time the manufacturer will take orders only at prices which shall yield him a profit. And so things, recovering from the credit-panic, begin to mend.

If this process has been correctly described, it follows that the present advance, in the quotations for the staple commodities, is not only the best foundation for a belief that the worst of our depression is over, but it is a business fact without which true recovery would be impossible.

What is said here of manufactures, is true, but in a modified degree, of agriculture. Farming is the slowest of our industries to feel such a movement, partly because of its own inertness and partly because the forces which govern its prices and fix its problems are world-wide. It may be that our statisticians have not taken into sufficient consideration the fact that, while people must eat, there is still left a wide choice as to the kind of food. Hard times may cause consumers of the more expensive food to buy cheaper food, and—in distinction to imported foods—home-made or home-grown articles of nutriment. Hence there may easily be something more than trade sympathy in the advance in farm products which usually accompanies the same movement in manufactures. A prosperous people will consume a wider variety and a better quality of food, and in larger quantity, than an unprosperous people.

It would be strange if prices upon the stock-exchanges did not reflect the opinions as to the better outlook which the newer quotations for commodities may be taken to warrant. We should, therefore, expect a corresponding advance in the quotations for railway stocks and bonds. We, indeed, find that expected advance, and much more. The exchanges and bourses are not centres of logic, but of sentiment. We could not get along without mathematics; but, in forming his judgment about the future, the average man casts figures to the wind. Speculation—in the good sense of that word—is the prime factor in human affairs; and, since guesses as to the future depend upon temperament, we need not look to the exchanges for illustrations of conservatism and sober sense. This is another way

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of saying that the advance in the quotations for shares has much exceeded the rise in the prices for commodities, and is, by that much, anticipatory. Whether this sudden and great rise in exchange quotations has or has not gone beyond the probabilities for the future, time alone can tell.

Human sentiment has its tides, like those of trade. People cannot or will not stay pessimistic long. For two weary years we have been hearing of nothing but loss and disaster; after such a prolonged strain trifles light as air are seized upon as strong confirmation of the hope for better prices in the near future, and the tide of sentiment turns. Our London friends since 1892 in a panic of fear have been sending back to us large amounts of bonds of whose security and safety there could be no reasonable doubt. It was foolish, but the tide was running that way and nothing could stop it. Now that British sentiment is changing, these same English friends who would not hold "gilt-edged" bonds are buying millions of shares of American railways, a good part of which in the slang of Wall Street are "cats and dogs," shares considered by us as almost worthless intrinsically and selling at nominal prices, whose purchase no responsible American banker has recommended. It is possible that this buying of low-priced stuff—which has its humorous side in the light of recent history—will prove profitable as a speculation. Since the Baring liquidation, in 1890, capital has been accumulating in London and in continental cities awaiting investment. The owners are tired of holding it unemployed. Meanwhile the craze about gold-mining in Africa furnishes an illustration of what may happen. The English people have invested more than $600,000,000 in African mining, on which the expected returns in 1895 will not exceed 2 per cent. So great has been the excitement, begun more than a year ago, that the description "Kaffir Circus" has been applied to the performances on the London Exchange. Nor is the excitement subsiding. On the contrary, there are signs of its spreading to France and Germany. If such a craze should seize the English people about cheap American railroad securities, the purchasers of our low-priced shares would reap a rich harvest. Of course accompanying such sales there have been large amounts of good bonds and stocks placed in London.

Since there is no way of judging of a craze or of determining its extent, and since intrinsic values for the moment (except in anticipation) are not the governing factors upon the bourses, every one

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must form his own judgment as to the probable course of prices on the stock-exchanges. It is enough for our present purpose that quotations for railway bonds and shares have advanced correspondingly with the increases in prices for commodities, and have gone beyond them. The greater mobility of stock quotations may account for a good part of this higher range of values as compared with manufactured goods, but a part must be ascribed to the workings of sheer sentiment.

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